

ABSTRACT

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HARRY H. SINGLETON, II, A WARRIOR AS ACTIVIST: RACISM IN HORRY COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1965-2005

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Dissertation date: May 2009

This historical narrative examined the impact of institutional and individual racism during the Post Civil Rights Era by analyzing the life and work of minister, businessman, and educator, Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II of Horry County, South Carolina. Special attention was given to Singleton's role in the integration of Horry County Public Schools, the Conway High School football boycott, and his work as a civil rights leader with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Further, incidents in Singleton's life and career as a civil rights activist reflect the legal support of district courts in South Carolina, particularly in the case of *Harry H. Singleton v. Horry County Board of Education*. Based on the research, Singleton's life is reflective of an African-American leader whose contributions to race relations on the grassroots level was indicative of his life experiences growing up in Edgefield, South Carolina and his commitment to correcting racism in Horry County, South Carolina from 1965 to 2005.

HARRY H. SINGLETON, II, A WARRIOR AS ACTIVIST: RACISM IN HORRY
COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1965-2005

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF ARTS

BY
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAY 2009

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This historical narrative would not have been possible without my doctoral committee: Dr. Josephine Bradley, Dr. K. B. S. Barrow, and Dr. Timothy Askew. Thank you for your commitment to me as a doctoral student and your guidance in the completion of this manuscript. Thank you, Ms. Carolyn Clark, my editor, for your patience with me as I traveled this road to my doctoral degree. Also, special thanks to my sister, Terri Jo Singleton-Alexander, for her time and expertise in co-editing this research and formatting the document. I would also like to dedicate this narrative to: Mrs. Geoffrey Renee Saulter-Singleton (1960-1995), Ms. Leontyne Singleton (1957-2006), Mrs. Annie Mae Oliphant Singleton (1934-2007), and Dr. Margaret Rowley (deceased), Chairperson of History, Atlanta University. Finally, I dedicate this narrative to my father, the Reverend Harry. H. Singleton, II.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CKR	Carolina Knight Riders
ESPN-NFL	National Football League-Entertainment Sports Program Network
EURO	European American Rights Organization
FAMU	Florida A & M University
HAC	Human Affairs Commission
LDF	NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund
MLA	Montgomery Improvement Association
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
SAT	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SCSU	South Carolina State University
SCUTRA	South Carolina Unfair Trade Practices
UNIA	United Negro Improvement Association
WCC	White Citizens Council
WPC	Women's Political Council

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This historical narrative examines the impact of institutionalized and individual racism during the post-civil rights era on the life and works of minister, businessman, and educator, Reverend Harry Henry Singleton, II of Horry County, South Carolina. Singleton's past and present work in civil rights in Horry County and the changes his work produced were evaluated to determine the effects it had on fostering interracial cooperation for the past forty years in Horry County, South Carolina. The underlying premise of this research centers on examining the most significance contributions of Reverend Singleton's reconciliation of racial inequalities of Horry County from 1965 to 2005.

Further, this study scrutinizes Singleton's position as a public school teacher in Horry County and his involvement and leadership in the Conway Boycott that occurred between 1989 and 1991. Finally, this study examines Singleton's work as a civil rights leader with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in seeking, revealing, and exposing examples of hidden racism in Horry County, South Carolina from 1965 to 2005, such as the Myrtle Beach, South Carolina's city government openly discriminating against African-American tourists.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

An examination of Singleton's life and work as an activist is significant and vital to understanding race relationships in South Carolina. Further, this research is necessary because southern history, as it pertains to African-American activism, is too seldom preserved via the written biography of African Americans who assumed defiant roles in the struggles to eliminate racism. Thus, a historical narrative of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II illustrates the emergence of a defiant African-American civil rights leader in Horry County, South Carolina who also became a pinnacle example of African-American southern resistance. In addition, Singleton is an example of intellectual African-American leadership known for the uplifting of African Americans, not only in Horry County, but also nationally.

Singleton's life as an activist exemplified the lives of many previous African-American leaders. Singleton, like past personalities, took on the mantle of leadership in efforts to dismantle the chains of southern racism on African Americans. Moreover, Singleton and earlier black leaders moved outside the boundaries set by the white power structure, and moved inside the black world in efforts to lead them to a level of equality.¹

Perhaps James Baldwin, in *The Fire Next Time*, gave the most profound assessment of past and present African-American leaders when he stated: "Well, the black man has functioned in the white man's world as a fixed star, as an immovable

¹ Michael Eric Dyson, *Race Rules: Navigating the Color Line* (New York: Vintage Book, 1997),

pillar; and as he moves out of his place, heaven and earth are shaken to their foundations.”²

Further, Singleton’s life is linked to earlier African-American leaders because of his tenacity and desire to bring about change. The narrative of leadership and resistance began in the Middle Passage.³ Further, it perpetuated itself in men like Singleton and other men who joined him in the struggles and challenges for social justice.

Nevertheless, it is virtually impossible to provide an accurate number as to how many Africans took this one-way passage (a number that is in the millions), or how many Africans were either forced or elected, selected to leadership positions to lead rebellions. The peculiar institution of plantation slavery provides documentation of resistance and rebellion by African-American leaders. Their rebellious missions set the stage for those to follow. Among these leaders are Gabriel Prosser (1776-1800), Denmark Vesey (1767-1822), and Nat Turner (1800-1831), who were all insurrectionists and who led slave revolts. From the available documentation on the lives of these three leaders, there were common denominators or similarities in personal traits that prompted them to assume their leadership roles. Documentation supports the theory that Prosser, Vesey, and Turner were reputed to possess unusual intelligence and had benefited from some type of educational training. For example, Prosser was said to be “a fellow of courage and intelligence above his rank in life.”⁴ Vesey spoke several languages fluently and studied

² Ibid., 1.

³ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 44.

⁴ Gladys-Marie Fry, *Night Riders in Black Folk History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 41-42.

and reflected upon a wide range of subjects. Hence, because of his intellectual ability and cultured manner, he was given the title “intellectual insurrectionist.”⁵ Finally, Nat Turner also had a great deal of native intelligence because he learned to read and write with little effort and he was described as a “keen, mechanically gifted” man.⁶

Other similarities between these three leaders were that they all were influenced by their religious views to the point of being called “fanatics” and used religion as a tool to reach their goals.⁷ For example, Prosser studied the Old Testament in the Bible. He began to favor the biblical figure Samson and wore his hair long to imitate this biblical figure. Vesey also studied the Bible and used quotes to support his argument that slaves should emancipate themselves by any means necessary.⁸ Similarly, Turner was perhaps more devoted to his religious views than Prosser and Vesey.

Sources indicated that Turner may have been a slave minister. In this capacity, he may have led plantation slaves in worship prior to his rebellion in South Hampton, Virginia in 1831. Gladys-Marie Frye, in her book, *Night Riders in Black Folk History*, described Turner’s religious attitude. She also examined his claim to have had dreams and heavenly revelations that convinced him that he was “ordained for some great purpose in the hands of the Almighty.” According to Frye, Turner wrote:

⁵ Ibid., 41.

⁶ Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 294.

⁷ Fry, 42.

⁸ Ibid.

My grandmother, who was very religious, and to whom I was very much attached—my master, who belonged to the Church, and other religious persons who visited the house, and whom I often saw at prayers, noticing the singularity of my manner, I support, and my uncommon intelligence for a child, remarked I had too much sense to be raised, and, if I was I would never be of any service to anyone as a slave. To a mind like mine, restless, inquisitive, and observant of everything that was passing, it is easy to suppose that religion was the subject to which it would be directed; and although this subject principally occupied my thoughts, there was nothing that I saw or heard of to which my attention was not directed.⁹

As a result of these insurrections, particularly the Turner rebellion, it has been documented that slave owners replaced slave ministers with white ones to preach to negro congregations and additionally, decided that education for slaves should be avoided.¹⁰

Further discussion of African-American leadership includes leaders following emancipation and Reconstruction. According to Gunnar Myrdal, African-American leadership is based upon two extreme policies—accommodation and protest.¹¹ Certainly there are many unknown accommodationist leaders. However, one of the most well-known was Tuskegee Institute founder, Booker T. Washington. After Washington issued his speech at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895, whites welcomed Washington because he could serve as a medium for whites in dealing

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper Touch Books, 1944), 720.

indirectly with African Americans.¹² Furthermore, African-American protest leadership style, which is one of the main theses of this historical narrative, has its foundation in the work of William E.B. DuBois at the turn of the twentieth century. DuBois established a blueprint for other leaders to follow that included both the well-known and the unknown leaders during the black revolution or civil rights movement to the present. Certainly, Reverend H. H. Singleton, II did not reach DuBois' fame, but his political and social strategies grew out of the lessons of his predecessors: Prosser, Turner, Vesey, Washington and Dubois. However, his accomplishments are a vital part of the racial history of the state of South Carolina, especially at the grassroots level of political involvement. Singleton is an educated, middleclass man who could reach with his message both lower class masses of African Americans, as well as upper classes. Further, Singleton is a recognized African-American leader and his leadership style can be compared to other African-American leaders who gained national acclaim during the civil rights movement, as well as the post civil rights era. This narrative attests that the civil rights movement did not end by the late 1960s. Rather, African Americans' efforts to halt discrimination and racism still continue today.

¹² Ibid., 723.

EDGEFIELD, SOUTH CAROLINA AND AFRICAN AMERICANS

As viewed in the lives of the insurrectionists, Singleton's early roots and vivid experiences also shaped his personality and later his destiny to become a civil rights activist. Edgefield, South Carolina and Conway, South Carolina were the rural communities in which Singleton's growing years were experienced. Clearly, politics and social concerns are addressed by most African-American leaders in urban and rural communities, such as Conway (Horry County) and Edgefield (Edgefield County), South Carolina. Singleton's background in Edgefield is essential to this historical narrative because it played an important role in shaping his destiny to become a civil rights activist. According to the 2000 United States Census Bureau, 24,595 people resided in Edgefield County.¹³ In 2004, approximately 58 percent of the residents were white. More than 40 percent were African Americans. Similarly, in Horry County, Hispanics or Latinos only made up slightly more than two percent of the population, and Asians comprised less than one percent of the population in 2004. By 2005, Edgefield County's population had increased to 25,528 or a 3.9 percent increase. In comparison to Edgefield, Conway has a relatively large population of white residents. According to the 2000 Census, whites (non-Hispanics) constituted 54.9 percent of the population. However, their percentage was not extremely higher than that of African Americans who represented 41.8 percent of

¹³ Edgefield, South Carolina, Census Report, 2000.

the population. The Hispanic population was extremely small, representing only 1.9 percent of the population.¹⁴

CONWAY, SOUTH CAROLINA

The history of Conway, South Carolina can be traced back to 1526 when Spanish settlers attempted to settle in the area near the Pee Dee River, which is located in what is now known as Horry County. The history maintains that the Spanish bought African slaves to the area. However, these Africans staged an uprising and forced the Spanish settlers to flee south to the Caribbean Islands. According to Geoff Bedford, the newly freed Africans are said to have remained and possibly went to live with the Native Americans in the area. In 1801, Conway was named after American Revolutionary War hero, Brigadier General Robert Conway (1753-1823). At that time, it was designated as the county seat and called Conwayborough. In 1883, the South Carolina General Assembly shortened the name to Conway¹⁵ (see Appendix 2 for a map of Conway, S.C.).

Conway is located on the eastern seaboard of South Carolina. Its northern border is less than fifty miles from North Carolina. The city is located only fourteen miles west of Myrtle Beach and other surrounding beaches, collectively called the Grand Strand. Most tourists from northern states on the eastern seaboard and Canada must travel through Conway en route to the Grand Strand. Moreover, Conway's development over

¹⁴ Conway, South Carolina, Census Report, 2000.

¹⁵ Geoff Bedford, *The Independent Republic: A Survey History of Horry County* (Conway: Horry County Historical Society, 1989), 16-17.

the past five decades can be attributed to Myrtle Beach's rapid progress and expansion. Certainly, Conway would be an insignificant town if it had not been so geographically close to Myrtle Beach.

SINGLETON AND HORRY COUNTY

Singleton became well-known in the local community after his arrival in Conway, South Carolina, as pastor of Cherry Hill Missionary Baptist Church in 1965 (see Appendix 1). He played an important role in ensuring that Horry County made a peaceful transition in the integration of its public schools. However, the Conway Boycott brought him national fame, particularly after his suspension and subsequent termination as a science teacher in the Horry County Public School System. Moreover, as president of the Conway chapter of the NAACP, Singleton advised African-American players on the Conway High School football team to boycott if they were not satisfied with head coach Charles "Chuck" Jordan's quarterback switch, which was perceived to be racially motivated because Jordan replaced a very competent African-American quarterback with a less experienced white quarterback.

After his termination, Singleton sued the Board of Education on grounds that his First Amendment right of free speech had been violated. The boycott and court proceedings gained national attention partly due to *Sports Illustrated Magazine's* coverage of the events and the intervention of the state and national headquarters of the NAACP led by then president Benjamin Hooks. After successfully winning his lawsuit and reinstatement as an educator, Singleton was elected to the National Board of the

NAACP. For the past fifteen years, he has been the voice on many racial issues for African Americans in Horry County and other areas of the state.

For more than a decade, Singleton had been very active in the NAACP's fight to remove the Confederate Flag from the dome of the South Carolina State Capitol. Additionally, he was involved in the fight to end alleged discrimination against African American bikers who annually attended the Black Bikers Festival, which is held during the Memorial Day weekend in Atlantic Beach. Moreover, Singleton filed at least four lawsuits in state courts on behalf of the bikers and other participants as recently as 2003. Based on his heroic efforts, Reverend H. H. Singleton, II is recognized as an icon by those who know him. His efforts have undoubtedly changed race relations in Horry County and the entire state of South Carolina. Thus, based on Singleton's work in fighting what he referred to as "Man's Inhumanity to Man," his contributions are worthy to be written in the pages of history.

ROOTS IN EDGEFIELD COUNTY

Edgefield County was founded in 1785. Although it is not clear how the county got its name, what is known is that the county was created out of the established Ninety-Sixth district after the American Revolution.¹⁶ After the Civil War, new counties were created from this vast area and the southernmost section of the county was detached to form Aiken County in 1871. Greenwood County was formed from Edgefield County and

¹⁶ Orville V. Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 14.

Abbeville County in 1897. Finally, McCormick County was formed from land taken from Edgefield County. This breakup resulted in citizens demanding more local political control, which also reduced the district to what it is today, a mere 481 square miles, roughly one-fourth its original size¹⁷ (see Appendix 3 for a map of Edgefield County). Settlers relocated in Edgefield from other established American colonies, such as Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. Enslaved African Americans entered the area at about the same time as white settlers. In addition, some free African-American slave families came with the early migrants and helped settle the frontier.¹⁸

Also as early as 1736, slave labor was used to row boatloads of furs down the Savannah River from the Carolina frontier outpost at Fort Moore to the coast. Many African Americans were from an African tribe who were known to be defiant and unruly slaves.¹⁹ However, African Americans were not the only group used in the labor force in Edgefield. In the mid-1700s, white indentured servitude and Native American slavery existed. Native Americans also made slaves of their captives. Thus, race was probably less an issue than status.²⁰

Moreover, historically, Edgefield was a hostile environment for African Americans. At the close of the Civil War and throughout the Reconstruction era (1865-1877), many citizens of Edgefield, both African Americans and whites, were very poor.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Burton, 16.

¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

²⁰ Ibid.

The devastating condition of the lives of whites may have been contributing factors to the rise of violence against newly freed African Americans. Orville V. Burton notes that Reconstruction in Edgefield was a second Civil War with frequent bitter encounters that occurred between African-American men and white men. This war left many women widows.²¹ During this period, murders of former slaves were documented in the Freedman's *Bureau of Edgefield Reports of Outrages* in which monthly reports of African-American men killed in each district were published. Burton revealed in a sworn statement before the Freedman's Bureau the sentiments of a former Edgefield slave, "It is dangerous for African-American men to live in the Edgefield District where men are hunted down and shot daily. Moreover, the slave's former master, Marsh Frazier, once told him that he could get his brains blown out for twenty dollars."²² The Freedman's Bureau also reported two gangs of outlaws operating in Edgefield who committed "with impurity the most fiendish outrages." This particular gang murdered, without provocation, several African Americans and a white man.²³

During this time, numerous acts of violence and murder worsened. For example, in 1875, the state Government sent a special agent to the county to investigate the causes of this violence. The agent concluded that a small group of whites in Edgefield greatly opposed "any assertion of equality as a citizen when coming from a colored man and

²¹ Burton, 89.

²² Fox Butterfield, *All God's Children: The Bosket Family and the American Tradition of Violence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1995), 20.

²³ Allen, 5.

whites held their human life to be of little value.”²⁴ In order to stop such acts or at least assist the families of murdered African-American men, Lawrence Cain, an African-American State Senator elected during Reconstruction, introduced a bill to tax the five square miles surrounding any neighborhood “in which a man shall be murdered because of politics, race, or color to support the widows and orphans of such martyrs.”²⁵

According to J. Douglas Allen Taylor’s article, *Tracking the Ghosts of Edgefield County*, this type of brutality, often seen but rarely identified, started as white-on-white crime as reported by the *New York Times* reporter, Fox Butterfield in the 1980s. On an assignment to research why African-American men were so violent, Butterfield uncovered information on Edgefield’s violent past through archival research and interviews with a man named Willie Bostic. For most of his life, Bostic was a hardened criminal. His family was former slaves in Edgefield approximately one hundred and thirty years ago. Based on his findings, Butterfield attributes violence among whites in Edgefield partly to the history of the large Scottish-Irish immigrants that settled the area in which Edgefield was established.²⁶ Also, their way of life in Scotland had been an outgrowth of seven centuries of fighting between the kings of England and Scotland over the borderlands they inhabited. They grew accustomed to their towns being ransacked and their families tortured to death. With their arrival in America, there emerged a desire

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., 20.

²⁶ Allen, 5.

for family feuds, a love for whiskey, and a warrior ethic that demanded revenge. Further, founding Father, Benjamin Franklin referred to them as “white savages.”²⁷

Nevertheless, when the newly freed slaves attempted to gain guarantees as stated in the United States Constitution and demand economic independence, Edgefield’s white citizens resorted to violence. B. O. Townsend, a South Carolina writer of the post-Civil War period, stated:

The whites do not think it is wrong to shoot, stab or knock down negroes on slight provocation. It is actually thought a great point, among certain classes, to boast that one has killed or beaten a negro. It is quite impossible to convict a white of a crime against a colored man if there is a white man on the jury.²⁸

Edgefield County was known, not only for violence, but also for producing some of the most racist political leaders in American history who viewed themselves as representatives of South Carolina and the South. They also self-consciously articulated and acted upon what they believed to be southern ideals.²⁹ An important ideal was leadership. According to Alvry L. King, Charleston and Edgefield contributed most of the famous leaders of South Carolina, which was true for pre-Civil War South Carolina and also for the post-antebellum nineteenth century. South Carolina led the South in its

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Butterfield, 38.

²⁹ Burton, 2.

first nullification (John C. Calhoun) pro-slavery and pro-southern arguments and secession.³⁰ In essence, Edgefield led South Carolina into secession.

Towards the end of Reconstruction, in 1876, Edgefield, like other areas in the South, was determined to restore the old southern way of life, which included restoration of slavery for African Americans. Former Confederate Generals Matthew Calbraith Butler and Martin Witherspoon Gary directed the Edgefield Plan. This Plan was designed to redeem the state and return it to the conservative white elites in 1876. The Plan required each white democrat to control the vote of at least one negro through intimidation or any method individually determined.³¹ Various leaders, both African-American and white, laid the groundwork for Singleton's emergence as an activist and educator.

BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN AND RACISM

White South Carolinians had varied responses to African Americans. The most adamant and powerful voice was that of Benjamin R. Tillman (1847-1918). Tillman was quite successful in implementing the Edgefield Plan, which had a profound effect on the racist ideology on whites throughout the nation. Tillman, also known as Ben Pitchfork Tillman, was born on August 11, 1847 in Edgefield County. The Tillmans were a wealthy slaveholding family. Tillman was only ten years old when he referred to slaves that were recently smuggled into America as "the most miserable lot of human beings;

³⁰ Ibid., 4.

³¹ Ibid.

the nearest to the missing link with the monkeys.”³² Although too young to fight in the Civil War, Tillman attempted to enlist himself but was not accepted for medical purposes.

During Reconstruction, Tillman began his rise to power by joining a racist and violent group called the “Red Shirts” in Edgefield County. The Red Shirts were among a number of poor white groups that were disenfranchised politically, who were destroyed economically by the war, and who attempted to re-establish themselves by any means possible. Subsequently, they used racial ideas and violence to reach their goals.³³ As Reconstruction came to an end, this group worked to ensure that white supremacy prevailed by initiating a series of violent murders and massacres upon African Americans in Edgefield and other surrounding counties.

In 1876, more than one thousand Red Shirts attacked an African-American militia unit near Ellenton in Aiken County. They killed thirty of them before a small federal detachment arrived. Further, Tillman led fifty Red Shirts to Ellenton, but missed the slaughter. However, two men from his unit were among the ones responsible for executing African-American Reconstructionist Republican Senator, Simon Coker. Coker, a mulatto, was sent to investigate the slaughter. According to sources, Coker was shot while he knelt in a final prayer. Historically, this incident is known as the Hamburg

³² Francis B. Simpkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944), 39.

³³ Adora M. Cheung, *The Age of Benjamin Tillman, The Tiger* (Clemson: The Tiger and Clemson University Press), 2.

Massacre.³⁴ Like Rosewood in Florida, the town of Hamburg (now North Augusta, South Carolina) prospered and whites resented the establishment of a town founded by African Americans. Hence, this resentment led whites to “openly seek confrontations with African Americans.” Moreover, no one in Hamburg was ever convicted of these crimes against African Americans.³⁵

In 1890, Tillman entered into politics in South Carolina. Because of his racist views and his leadership of back county whites, such as the Red Shirts, Tillman was elected Governor of South Carolina and served two terms from 1890 to 1894. He also supported an organization of county white farmers, called the Farmer's Alliance, as well as agricultural education, which led to the establishment of Clemson and Winthrop Colleges, now universities.³⁶

Tillman's push for education, which led to the establishment of Clemson University, illustrates the nature of its impact on the socio-political life of South Carolina. Tillman and others did not want African Americans to attend the school. In a letter published after his death, Tillman illustrated his position by stating:

. . .having in view the possible danger of the negro...at some time getting control of state government, we suggested the scheme of seven trustees, who would be self perpetuating and thus make it possible for an adverse

³⁴ Butterfield, 41-42.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 4.

legislature to ship-wreck the college, or make it a school to which negroes would be admitted.³⁷

Tillman's views against educating African Americans were further made clear when the Morrill Act of 1862 allocated funds to all agricultural colleges in South Carolina. Claflin and Clemson Colleges were the main schools receiving these funds in the 1890s. Established in 1869, Claflin began as a private school led by Methodist Episcopal Ministers in Orangeburg, South Carolina. According to the charter, no one would be refused admission because of "race, complexion, or religious opinion."³⁸ Tillman became more resentful since two-thirds of the funds allocated by the Morrill Act were going to Claflin College, which provided education for African-American males. Tillman's running mate, Eugene Gary, stated that Claflin was a threat to white wage earners in the state. Further, Gary stated, "Claflin's graduates earned three to four dollars a day, wages that ought to go to skilled white boys."³⁹ Tillman also agreed with Gary because the poor white male was one of his major reasons for opening Clemson University.

While Tillman's greatest accomplishment may have been in the field of education, his bigotry was evident in assessing the political activities of the state. In 1885, Tillman dominated the State's Constitutional Convention where rules were adopted that virtually disenfranchised African Americans in South Carolina. Thus, the

³⁷ Cheung, 4.

³⁸ Robert E. Botch and Carol J. Botch, *African-Americans and the Palmetto State* (Columbia: South Carolina State Department of Education, 1994), 79.

³⁹ Cheung, 2.

disenfranchisement ultimately spread throughout the nation. Additionally, Tillman even defended the use of force to prevent African Americans from voting.

Throughout his political career, Tillman called for the mass murder of African Americans who wanted equal rights and raised fears that African-American males wanted to rape white women.⁴⁰ Because of Tillman's beliefs, many white South Carolinians passionately resisted African Americans in their struggle for civil rights. Moreover, whites' resistance intensified when the United States Supreme Court upheld segregation in the *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s case in 1896.

Tillman is still remembered today in South Carolina. State Representative Joe Neal, an African-American Democrat from Richland County, South Carolina, recollects stories traditionally passed down throughout the years in his family. He recalls Tillman writing his grandfather and saying, "I am going to kill you nigger."⁴¹ As late as the 1950s, Neal also remembers growing up in the Columbia area where African Americans believed their lives were in danger if they insisted on the same equal rights as whites, such as trying to vote or eat in any restaurant. He further stated, "You could be beaten, you could be killed, and you could be arrested."⁴² Historian Francis Butler Simpkins, in her biography on Tillman's life, indicated that Tillman was responsible for poisoning the minds of millions of Americans. Simpkins stated that Tillman fostered the modern

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Monk, "Steeped in History: 'Tillman Leaves Legacy of Fear, Hatred Long Road to Justice,'" *The State*, March 2, 2003, A8. <http://www.thestateonline.com/civilrights/day1/civilrights02.php>, (accessed December 19, 2007).

⁴² Ibid., 2.

American reaction against the negro. Tillman said, "We will have to butcher the negro some day and when the struggle comes, it will be terrible."⁴³

Further, John Monk, a columnist who wrote *Long Road to Justice: The Civil Rights Movement in South Carolina*, stated that Tillman felt that the only good blacks were slaves or those who did not try to better themselves. Since whites' lives were in danger, whites should kill any African American who sought equal rights.⁴⁴ For example, Tillman clearly expressed how he felt on this issue when President Theodore Roosevelt invited Booker T. Washington to dinner shortly after Washington spoke at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia in 1895. In his speech, known as the "Atlanta Compromise," in 1906, Washington made it clear that African Americans should not immediately seek equality through political protest but through educational, vocational, and job skills. Washington believed in economic integration and not social integration.⁴⁵ White Americans believed that Washington was the leader for African Americans. However, some African Americans maintained that Washington was indeed placing them back into a place of servitude, and some African Americans supported Washington and recognized him as their new leader. President Theodore Roosevelt respected him and arranged a dinner at the White House. Despite Washington's plan, which delighted many whites in America at that time, Tillman

⁴³ Ibid., 1-2.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Sharon Harley, Stephen Middleton, and Charlotte M. Stokes, Consultants, *The African-American Experience: A History* (New Jersey: Global Book Company, 1992), 239.

expressed his anger concerning the invitation by stating, “The actions of President Roosevelt in entertaining that nigger will necessitate our killing a thousand niggers in the south before they learn their place again.”⁴⁶

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR: SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVIST

The African-American citizenry of the south became zealous in its reaction to the more pronounced institutional and individual racism of the white leaders. Hence, the grassroots movements for social justice, as well as equality, led to the rise of many African-American leaders. Moreover, many of these leaders became strong social change activists, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Medgar Evers, Charles Kenzie Steele, and Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II. Each of these men made a noteworthy contribution to the struggle for social justice and equality on behalf of, not just southern blacks, but blacks throughout America. Further, each of these leaders’ responses to the racial climate of their time was important and reflective of their early life experiences as African Americans growing up in the south.

Examples of racism that Dr. King experienced in his early years in Atlanta, Georgia may have inspired him to become the great civil rights leader. Dr. King was a product of a middle-class, educated, African-American family that produced two ministers who were also civil rights activists. These ministers included Dr. King’s father, Martin Luther King, Sr., and his maternal grandfather, Reverend A. D. Williams. Moreover, Williams’ father was also a Baptist minister near Atlanta during the pre-Civil

⁴⁶ Monk, 2.

War years.⁴⁷ Emerging from a long line of ministers, who were either forced or volunteered to become leaders of the African-American community, these experiences had a tremendous impact on Dr. King's growth as a leader.

The rise of Dr. Martin Luther, Jr. in Montgomery, Alabama, is also an example of a leader whose historical background played an important role in shaping the civil rights leader to dedicate his life to correcting racial discrimination. Several events occurred that impacted King's activism, such as the death of fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, who was brutally murdered near Money, Mississippi during the summer of 1955, and the arrest of Rosa Parks for not giving up her seat on the city bus to a white person, which triggered the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Overall, this boycott hoisted Dr. King to the forefront of African-American leadership. Although Dr. King reluctantly accepted the leadership role as president of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), he received international acclaim and recognition as a believer in nonviolence as a change agent for social justice and equality.

Further, a person's resistance to the call to the ministry may have some bearing on their subsequent level of activism. For example, at age twenty-two, Singleton maintained that he saw visions of huge burning crosses while he was employed as a truck driver in 1954. He recalls attempting to "run away or fight the call to the ministry." Eventually, he gave in to it.⁴⁸ Conversely, Dr. King remembered his calling as neither dramatic nor spectacular like Singleton's. Dr. King wrote about his calling in 1944. He stated:

⁴⁷ Jacqueline Trussell, "The Theology of Martin Luther King, Jr.", <http://www.blackandchristian.com/articles/academy/trussell/1-01-02.shtml> (accessed January 2, 2007), 2.

It came neither by some miraculous vision nor by some blinding light experience on the road of life. Moreover, it was a response to an inner urge that gradually came upon me. This urge expressed itself in a desire to serve God and humanity, and the feeling that my talent and my commitment could best be expressed through the ministry. During my senior year in college, I finally decided to accept the challenge to enter the ministry. I came to see that God had placed a responsibility upon my shoulders and the more I tried to escape it, the more frustrated I would become.⁴⁹

An assumption is that the ministers' call to the profession indirectly impacts them in becoming leaders of African Americans, as well as other minorities. Additionally, King's educational background further influenced him to become an advocate promoting social change. In 1948, while a student at Crozier Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, King was exposed to the life and teachings of the Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi. After lengthy study of Gandhi's writings, Dr. King adopted the leader's concept of "satyagraha" (truth-force or life-force) and "atmbal" (soul-force). King wrote:

As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through the Gandhian method of non-violence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom. At that time, however, I acquired only an intellectual understanding and appreciation of the position, and I had no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Reverend H. H. Singleton, II, interview by author, January 15, 2007, Conway, South Carolina.

⁴⁹ Clayborne Carson, "Martin Luther King, Jr. and the African American Social Gospel". http://stanford.edu/group/Dr._King/additional_resource/articles/gospel.htm. (accessed January 19, 2007), 2.

⁵⁰ Martin Luther King, Jr., *Strength to Love* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), 151.

Upon assuming the leadership role in Montgomery, Alabama, King implemented Gandhi's nonviolent resistance philosophy. Gandhi's philosophy became a cornerstone in leadership tactics during the civil rights movement, especially in the marches after the Montgomery Bus Boycott started. King's dedication to nonviolent resistance and Gandhi's teachings was further reinforced when King wrote, "Nonviolent resistance emerged as the technique of the movement, while love stood as the regulating ideal. In other words, Christ furnished the spirit and motivation while Gandhi furnished the method."⁵¹

MEDGAR EVERS' STAND FOR FREEDOM

Similar to Singleton and King, other leaders arose from grassroots levels to national acclaim. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary, Medgar Evers, is one such example of an individual whose experiences in his early life were similar to what Singleton endured in Edgefield, South Carolina. Evers is remembered for becoming the first major civil rights activist to be assassinated in the early 1960s. At the age of thirty-seven, Evers was shot in the back by segregationist, Byron De La Beckwith, after returning home after a late NAACP meeting on June 12, 1963. His wife and three small children mourned his death along with African Americans across America. In 1964, Beckwith was tried twice and was acquitted both times. Thirty years later, he was

⁵¹Martin Luther Dr. King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), 84-85.

convicted and justice was served on behalf of the Evers family. Additionally, Evers' death inspired President John F. Kennedy to introduce a bill to Congress that called for a comprehensive civil rights bill. This bill was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law that same year.⁵²

Evers was born in the small town of Decatur, Mississippi, on July 2, 1925. Growing up in Decatur, Mississippi, Evers recalls the African-American children walking to school "while white children on the school buses would throw things at us and yell filthy things."⁵³ Reverend Singleton and his wife, Annie M. Singleton, recalled similar incidents in Edgefield, South Carolina. Evers recalled a large number of white men beating a black man to death because he "sassed a South Carolina white woman." Evers' reflections on the murder were:

They just left him dead on the ground. Everyone in town knew it, but never [said] a word in public. I went down and saw his bloody clothes. They left those clothes on a fence for about a year. Every Negro in town was supposed to get the message from those clothes and I can see now in my mind's eye. But nothing was said in public. No sermons in church, no news, no protest. It was as though this man just dissolved except for the bloody clothes...⁵⁴

Further, Evers remembers watching an event of the treatment of an African-American man. He stated that, "one Saturday night as a sport, a group of white men were

⁵² Adam Nossiter, *Of Long Memory: Mississippi and the Murder of Medgar Evers* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: DaCapo Press, 1994), 61-63.

⁵³ "Medgar Evers", http://www.africanwithin.com/bios/medgar_evers.htm (accessed December 23, 2006), 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

trying to run down a negro with their car, or a white gang coming through town to beat up a negro.”⁵⁵ One of the most moving incidents that he recalled that was inspirational was how his dying father was placed in the stuffy basement of the local hospital where the lighting was insufficient. On that same night, a black man was almost lynched by an angry white mob. Moreover, Evers recalls thinking, “...it seemed that lynching blacks would never change. It was that way for my daddy, it was that way for me, and it looked as though it would be that way for my children. I was so mad I just stood there trembling and tears rolled down my cheeks.”⁵⁶ These examples of racism are only a few that Evers encountered as a young man. Shortly thereafter, Evers went to work for the NAACP as a full-time chapter organizer.

Reverend Charles Kenzie Steele is another African American who provided leadership in the 1956 bus boycott in Tallahassee, Florida. Steele was a friend of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and a charter member and first Vice President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).⁵⁷ During the Tallahassee Boycott, Steele was elected president of the Inter-Civic Council (ICC) which was formed to boycott the city bus company after two Florida A & M University students were arrested for sitting in the “Whites only” section. After two years of protest, the bus services desegregated.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁵⁷ Rev. C. K. Steele, “*A Legacy of Change*,” <http://www.subtraction.com/boycott/timeline.html> (accessed August 20, 2007), 2.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 3.

After the Tallahassee boycott, Steele continued as an activist in the struggle to fight against racism and as a strategist seeking to obtain equality for all throughout the south. He continued his work until his death in 1980. Eckerd College historian from St. Petersburg, Florida, Gregory Padgett, believed that Steele was often overlooked in the civil rights movement. Padgett wrote, "Steele not only brought about change, but helped heal the community. Thus, Reverend Steele, an unknown leader who gained national attention for his work in the movement, will indeed remain an inspiration for the people he led in the community."⁵⁹

Of the aforementioned African-American leaders, only three—King, Steele, and Singleton, were ministers. However, Evers was a field secretary for the NAACP. Typically, for many African-American leaders, ministry was a worthy occupation. In rural areas such as Horry County, South Carolina, the African-American minister "stood out as the acknowledged local leader of African Americans."⁶⁰ More importantly, African-American ministers exercised leadership in rural areas more than urban communities. Ministers in the rural south were "accommodating" leaders and tended to stay away from political and social action. However, during the 1960s, King encouraged ministers to become involved in political action that included struggles for civil rights.⁶¹

Again, the African-American voice that was more powerful in the discussion of institutional and individual racism is that of W. E. B. DuBois. Both DuBois and Booker

⁵⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁰ Mydral, 861.

⁶¹ Robert W. Walters and Robert C. Smith, *African-American Leadership* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 127.

T. Washington, as African-American leaders, offered different, yet similar responses to prevailing forms of racism. Institutional and individual racism today, as in the past, continues to impact the black response to oppression and the demand for social justice. DuBois argued that society's racist responses to blacks necessitate a re-emergence of African-American leadership. His position expands the leadership styles of Prosser, Vesey, and Turner. According to DuBois, there are three kinds of historical black leaderships and responses to oppression—revolt, accommodation, and self-realization/self-development. DuBois comments that Nat Turner and David Walker represented revolt; Washington represented accommodation; and Frederick Douglas represented self-realization/self-development.⁶² Singleton uniquely utilized a combination of each of these definitions of historical black leadership in his activism and struggles for liberation, social justice, and equality.

METHODOLOGY

This research is a mixed methodology, using historical and narrative analysis. The historical analysis provided an exploration of the role and importance of history in events related to the elimination of oppression and the inclusion of social injustice for the African-American community. The utilization of the historiographical approach allowed for the inclusion of a specific era, 1965 - 2005, as well as the analysis of preceding historical eras which impacted the life and subsequent activism of Reverend H. H.

⁶² Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2002), 173.

Singleton, II. Further, this methodology allowed for an interpretation of a man, his past, and his contributions to the civil rights movement.

This historical approach involved three basic research strategies:

1. Collection of data – this consisted of archival research utilizing newspaper articles, periodicals, one dissertation.
2. Criticism of the data – this involved looking at the impact of historical events that occurred in this nation, especially events encountered by Singleton.
3. Presentation of facts and interpretation – emphasis was placed on the integration of archival data as it related to reported events and the significance of institutional and individual racism during the era under investigation.

A narrative analysis was utilized to detail the story of Singleton. This approach proved beneficial for the following reasons: First, it allowed for an exploration of the life of Singleton. Secondly, it provided for the analysis integration of the culture, the political, social and economic struggles of the era under study (1965-2005). Finally, it presented an analysis of the continued development of African-American leadership.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions are examined in this narrative:

1. What impact did the past and present works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II have on the eradication of racism from 1965 to 2005 in Horry County, South Carolina?

2. In what ways did individual and institutional racism influence the life and works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II during the civil rights and post-civil rights era?
3. What influence did the past and present works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II have on fostering interracial cooperation for the past 40 years in Horry County, South Carolina?

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

Chapter One explains the purpose of the research and briefly highlights events and history. Chapter Two provides a review of the literature pertaining to individual and institutional racism and African-American leadership. Chapter Three examines Reverend H. H. Singleton, II's roots in Edgefield, South Carolina, his struggles with racism that caused him to leave the town of Edgefield in pursuit of a better life for himself and his family, and Singleton's role in integrating Horry County Public Schools. Chapter Three also examines Singleton's involvement in the Conway Boycott and the fight for football players, his termination as a Horry County Public School teacher, NAACP intervention, and the lawsuit filed against the Board of Education. Chapter Four traces Singleton addressing racial issues in Horry County, South Carolina, such as incidents with the Confederate flag controversy, Myrtle Beach's discrimination against participants of the annual Black Bikers Fest, and Singleton's role in filing lawsuits against the city as an NAACP executive. Chapter Five examines the results of Singleton's lawsuits against the City of Myrtle Beach, the Mayor and Police Chief, as well as one hotel and several restaurants for racial discrimination. Chapter Six consists of conclusions and recommendations provided by this research.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Black Theology – Black Theologian James H. Cones defines black theology as a rational study of the being of God in the world in the light of existential situation of an oppressed community relating to the forces of liberation to the essence of the gospel, which is Jesus Christ.⁶³

Ethnocentrism – Ethnocentrism can be defined as one dominant culture judging another culture based on their culture.⁶⁴

Individual Racism – Individual racism is observed when an individual or group overtly takes into account the race of another individual or group and takes action intended to subordinate that individual or group.⁶⁵

Institutional Racism – Institutional Racism is observed when the normal, accepted routine patterns and practices of society's institutions have the effect or consequences of subordinating an individual or group or maintaining in place the results of a past practice of now illegal overt racism.⁶⁶

Racism – Racism is defined as the prediction of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over it.⁶⁷

Stereotype – Something conforming to a fixed or general pattern especially a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudice attitude or uncritical judgment.⁶⁸

⁶³ James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippencott, 1970), 66.

⁶⁴ Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th Edition, (Massachusetts: Webster Incorporated USA, 2001), 398.

⁶⁵ Robert C. Smith, *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't* (Albany, New York: State University of New York, 1995). 33.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 29.

⁶⁸ Available from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary>; [accessed August 26, 2008].

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This review of literature examines research that addresses the nature and historical origins of racism, and African-American leadership in a four-decade era. Thus, the review reveals that there are many types of racism as defined by scholars that exist in the field. For the purpose of this historical narrative, three types of racism were investigated: individual, institutional, and cultural racism. Kwame Ture, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, and Charles V. Hamilton in *"Black Power", The Politics of Liberation*, stated that individual racism involves individual whites action against individual blacks and acts of the total white community against the black community, which is a type that African Americans have experienced for years.¹ Similarly, James M. Jones in *Defining Prejudice and Racism*, indicates that racism builds on a negative view of prejudice. He further defines prejudice as a positive or negative attitude, judgment, or feeling about a person that is generalized from attitudes or beliefs held about the group in which the person belongs.²

¹ Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Press, 1967), 3.

² James M. Jones, "Defining Prejudice and Racism," in *New York Times*, <http://www.runnet.edu/junnever.article/htm> (accessed September 14, 2005), 2-9.

Jones also indicated that individual racism is closely aligned with race prejudice. Hence, President Abraham Lincoln is an example of a person exhibiting individual racist thinking in the mid-1800s when Lincoln stated:

I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office...I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior and as much as any other man, I am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the White race.³

Both works support the notion of containment of African Americans based on race, which is reflected in the denial and avoidance of social justice and equality for African Americans, especially in the south. It is these definitions against which Singleton and other African-American leaders struggled on a daily basis.

Robert Smith, in his work, *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't*, notes that individual racism is observed when an individual or group overtly subordinates that individual or group.⁴ Certainly, many examples of individual racism are chronicled from the origins of the African slave trade to the present. Some examples include death by lynching, injury, or beatings of African Americans, and the destruction of property such as church bombings.⁵

³ Jones, 3-4.

⁴ Robert C. Smith, *Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't* (Albany, New York: State University of New York, 1995), 9.

⁵ Ibid., 32.

Like individual racism, institutional racism has a long history. Joe Feagin, in his work *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities and Future Preparations*, indicates that Frederick Douglass is among the first United States analysts to speak of institutional racism across many sectors of society. In 1881, Douglass argued that:

. . . in every department of American life, Black Americans are confronted by this insidious influence. It fills the air. It meets them at the workshop and factory when they apply for work. It meets them at the church, at the hotel, at the ballot box, and worst of all, it meets them in the jury box.⁶

Institutional racism is also observed when the normal, accepted, routine patterns and practices of society's institutions have the effect or consequences of subordinating an individual or group or maintaining in place the results of a past practice of now illegal overt racism.⁷ According to Smith, institutional racism is covert and unintended because to achieve the results, the individuals involved need not consciously take into account race, but need simply go about the normal routines of their work as required by an institutions' standard operating procedures.⁸ Currently, institutional racism explains why minorities do not receive proper health care, continue to live in poverty, and do not receive opportunities relative to employment and equal treatment. Further, Jones' observations implied that racist institutions are but extensions of individual racists' thoughts utilized in order to achieve racist objectives through the manipulation of institutions.

⁶ Joe R. Feagin, *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 17.

⁷ Ibid. 33.

⁸ Ibid.

Hence, institutions are created by men and their personal racist ideas will surface, particularly if the institution is one of public service.⁹

Similarly, cultural racism includes elements of both individual and institutional racism. Racism of this nature can be defined as the individual and institutional expression of the superiority of the race's cultural heritage over that of another race.¹⁰ Further, this form of racism historically dates back to the European Expansion era commencing in the fifteenth century. A term used today is *ethnocentrism*, which is linked to cultural racism. Ethnocentrism can be defined as one dominant culture judging another culture based on their culture.¹¹ In most cases, the Europeans assumed that their culture was superior to all that they encountered.

Over the centuries, there have been many European historians who have written works in an attempt to discredit African Americans and other minorities' contributions to civilization particularly the people of Africa. Scholars of color have refuted the Europeans' thesis that people of African descent contributed little or nothing to civilization. This European ideology fueled cultural racism. White Western European religion, music, philosophy, law, politics, economics, morality, science, and medicine are considered to be the best in the world. To counter cultural racism, African Americans are now recognizing and celebrating their African heritage and culture.

⁹ Jones, 4 of 9.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th Edition, (Massachusetts: Webster, Incorporated USA 2001), 398

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RACISM

In the American South, another relevant factor contributing to black/white relationships can be found in the history of racism. According to Marxist author, C. L. R. James:

The conception of dividing people by race began with the slave trade, which opposes the conception of religion and philosophers. The only justification by which humanity could face was to divide people into separate races and decide that the Africans were an inferior race.¹²

Similarly, historian Eric Williams in his work, *Capitalism and Slavery*, noted that “slavery was not born of racism; rather racism was a consequence of slavery.”¹³ When Europeans arrived in Africa to trade and purchase Africans, many of whom were largely prisoners of war from other tribal leaders, inferiority was not a central issue. Many Africans were well-treated servants, particularly the African woman. To the Muslims who were in Africa during the seventh and eighth centuries A. D., Africans owned by Africans were well-treated and considered a manifestation of wealth.¹⁴ Another example that racism did not actually exist until the advent of the African slave trade can be supported by the twenty Africans who were traded by the Dutch in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619. Initially, these Africans were not slaves but were listed as indentured servants in the census counts of the colony between 1624 and 1625.¹⁵

¹² Alex Taylor, “The Roots of Racism,” in *Social Worker Online*, (November 22, 2002) http://www.socialist_worker.org/2002-2/31/431_08_racism.shtml (accessed July 21, 2005), 1-4.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 52.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Indentured servants usually worked under a contract for a selected period of seven years. By 1651, when many of the indentured servants' servitude had expired, African servants were as free as whites in the Jamestown Colony. African indentured servants were able to own property, file lawsuits, and testify against whites in court, bear arms, and own servants and slaves. Subsequently, as the colony grew, the need for labor increased. Thus, the institution of slavery and racism began. In 1661 Jamestown passed a law making all Africans and their offspring become slaves for life.¹⁶

Subsequently, history indicates that the Englishmen perpetuated racist ideas and enslavement regarding people of color, particularly Africans. Consequently, racism became a part of the culture in the United States. Joel Kovel asserted, "Racism, far from being the simple delusions of a bigoted and ignorant minority, is a set of beliefs whose structure arises from the deepest levels of our lives...Racism was an integral part of a stable and productive cultural order."¹⁷ According to Robert Smith, racism in America is much more than either the conscious conspiracy of a power elite or the simple delusions of a few bigots. . .it is part of our common historical experience and therefore, a part of our culture.¹⁸

Historically, European Americans claimed responsibility for the initiation of the slave trade in the fifteenth century based upon the premise that Africans were biologically innately inferior to Europeans. Moreover, European-Americans' justification of their exploitation and the enslavement of people of color were supported

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Joel Kovel, *White Racism: A Psychohistory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), 3.

¹⁸ Smith, 8

by their development of a racist ideology, which was grounded in a desire to spread Christianity.

This ideology often served as the primary mechanism utilized to justify the capitalistic actions of European Americans.¹⁹ This type of thinking provided the foundation for stereotypical behavior toward minorities. By definition, a stereotype is a positive or negative belief held by an individual about the characteristics of a group of people.²⁰ For example, an early stereotype that developed among European Americans was that Africans and other people of color were viewed as heathens, savages, or people more akin to apes of Africa, than the civilized English.²¹ Thus, Europeans asserted that it was their duty to save Africans by controlling them, which was accomplished with the enslavement of Africans. This ideological conception of Africans and other people of color is typically referred to as the white man's "burden."²²

Similarly, Winthrop Jordan, in his study *Black Over White: American Attributes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812*, analyzed the origins of and development of white's attitudes toward blacks from the sixteenth century to the early colonial period in what is now the United States. Africans were described as defective, savages, little more than apes, and African men were "libidinous."²³ However, the more interesting of Jordan's first impressions is that Europeans harbored extremely negative attitudes toward the color

¹⁹ Jones, 2.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 7.

²² Smith, 9.

²³ Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 3.

black and attempted to explain it relative to God's curse.²⁴ Thus, religion played an important role in European American's justification for enslaving people of color. According to Smith, the origins of racism were in Christianity's universalistic proselytizing ethos which requires that non-Christians savage or not, be brought into the fold.²⁵ This ideology was that of the slave master. Further, European Americans concurred with some of the earliest English accounts in American culture and religion, which maintained:

They (Africans) were a people of beastly living without a God, law, religion, or commonwealth. Negroes' color and conditions are a little more than the devil's incarnate. The devil has infused prodigious idolatry into their hearts enough to relish his palate and aggrandize their torture when he gets power to fry their souls, as the raging sun has already scorched their coal Black carcasses.²⁶

Nevertheless, despite the gains that African Americans made during the civil rights era, racism still prevailed after this period but assumed a different form. Openly displaying racism today is unacceptable and brutal acts once considered acceptable such as lynching and disenfranchisement, are considered not politically correct. Furthermore, there are consequences for committing such acts. White Americans maintain that African Americans have the same opportunities as whites in terms of education, employment, and housing. Whites also believe that affirmative action has leveled the playing field as related to the African Americans. On the contrary, there are whites that advocate that

²⁴ Smith, 11-12.

²⁵ Ibid., 6.

²⁶ Ibid., 9.

affirmative action is a form of reverse discrimination. Hence, whites are being denied opportunities in favor of less prepared African Americans.

Further, some whites according to Michael Levin believe that African Americans should strive to improve as a race and if they fail to accomplish this, it is based on their personal shortcomings and not anyone else's fault.²⁷ Levin also raised the question whether or not white Americans owe African Americans any special opportunities or equalities as defined by African Americans. After all, African Americans blame whites for their failures which occur because they are black. His answer was whites owed African Americans nothing. Michael Levin, in his work *Why Racism Matters: Race and Differences and What They Mean*, raised the question, "What do Americans owe African Americans who blame whites for their own failure because they are black?" His answer was "nothing." Levin asserts that in the United States, African Americans have fared very well compared to Africans living in Africa. Living among whites, African Americans have been given more than any other group, just because they are black. Levin also indicated that for the past forty years, enormous sums of money produced by European Americans have been invested into failing African-American communities.²⁸ Levin is also a strong supporter of *The Bell Curve* (1994) written by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray. According to Levin, Herrnstein and Murray suggest that African Americans score below whites on unbiased intelligence tests and tests that are highly correlated with social outcomes.²⁹ Further, regarding the intelligence quotients of African

²⁷ Michael Levin, "Why Race Matters: Race Differences and What They Mean" <http://home.comcast.net/~neveagenies/lev.htm> (accessed September 4, 2005), 1.

²⁸ Ibid.

Americans, Levin claims that it is genetics and not environment that affects intelligence. However, Levin counterattacks the claim that white Americans should be blamed for the enslavement of Africans. He maintains that evidence demonstrates that discrimination and segregation did not allow African Americans to receive the same educational opportunities or skills acquired by whites.

He also states that if whites are to blame, they should be able to defend themselves, and he maintains that there is no evidence to the allegation that whites are responsible for the plight of blacks.³⁰ Interestingly, Levin also indicates that there may be evidence that African Americans lag behind whites in social and economic status for centuries because their ancestors were former slaves who experienced a slave-like environment even after the emancipation. On the contrary, much discourse has been written that undermines the scientific basis of white supremacy, as well as supports the premise that whites are to blame for the plight of African Americans today. One of the most influential books written that supports this premise is Gunnar Myrdal's, *American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*. Myrdal states, "The negro problem is really a white problem, and if a negro was a failure and which he obviously was by every criterion that white society recognized as valid, then he was a failure because America made him so." Myrdal also adds:

All recent attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. Hence, whites that built this country and enslaved people because they felt it was their duty to

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

civilize these people (the white man's burden) really became their burden. Also, it is not genetics or innate inferiority that accounts for the relatively low development of the black race in America. It was the environment of systematic subordination imposed and sustained by whites and the institutions of American society they controlled.³¹

Similarly, the ideologies on race are reinforced in existing research that specifically addresses black-white relations in Edgefield and Horry Counties in South Carolina, which inspired Singleton to become an advocate for social justice. For example, Edgefield's extensive history has been thoroughly documented in the Orville V. Burton's definitive work, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina*. Burton constructs a historical discourse of nineteenth-century Edgefield families and their communities. Burton compares the differences and similarities in southern values between African American and white families. He also relates that these are ties that bound African American and white families together in exploitation and oppression, and charity and cooperation.³²

Burton further details the progress of African-American households and how they survived. Similar to whites in Edgefield County, African Americans were tied to the land and the gang labor system. Sharecropping and tenant farming were among the few opportunities available to African Americans in Edgefield. Burton also presents an account of the levels of racial violence in Edgefield County in the nineteenth century.

³¹ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York: Harper Touch Books, 1944), p. ix.

³² Orville V. Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 3.

Although historians agree that this aspect of Edgefield was typical and seen in other areas of the country, Edgefield, South Carolina led the state in the percentage of murders.³³

Similarly, Fox Butterfield's work, *The Bosket Family and the American Tradition of Violence* adds to the racist and violent history of Edgefield County. Butterfield's work is very essential to this historical narrative because he provides a detailed account of lawlessness in Edgefield County and how African Americans were victimized in the county from slavery to the early decades of the twentieth century. For example, he presents detailed information on the "Hamburg Massacre" which led to the deaths of many African Americans and the destruction of the African-American community of Hamburg. Fox also discusses race relations between African Americans and whites after Reconstruction. Similarly, Benjamin J. Brawley, an African-American educator, historian and critic described this relationship: "The 1890s were in some ways the darkest that the race has experienced since emancipation. It seemed to the rural southern Negro that the conditions of slavery had all but come again."³⁴

Butterfield also comments on ruthless white Edgefieldians, such as Benjamin "Pitchfork" Tillman. According to Butterfield, Tillman led the plan to disenfranchise African Americans in Edgefield, as well as in the rest of South Carolina. Benjamin Tillman became Governor in 1890, and was later a State Senator in 1894. Further, Tillman personified all the traditions of old Edgefield, a county where manhood was measured by readiness for violence. Tillman was a man of commanding stature,

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Fox Butterfield, *All God's Children: The Bosket Family and the American Tradition of Violence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Incorporated, 1995), 49.

intellectual brilliance, and a magnetic one eye who, by the end of Reconstruction, became a leader in terrorizing African Americans through murder.³⁵ Butterfield affirms that Tillman, as Governor of South Carolina, once commented, "Governor that I am, I'd head a mob to lynch a man who had ravished a white woman...I justify lynching for rape and, before Almighty God, I am not ashamed of it."³⁶

Similarly, Francis Butler Simpkin's research *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* also discusses Edgefield and the life of Tillman. Tillman focused on expanding political control of the state and appealed to lower and middle class whites at the expense of African Americans and the State's former leaders. Some historians maintain that Tillman is responsible for the rise of white supremacy and disenfranchisement of African Americans in South Carolina during the 1890s. Simpkins concurs with these historians when she writes that Tillman was to blame for poisoning the minds of millions of citizens and fostering the modern American against African Americans in South Carolina and other southern states that emulated the same principles as Jim Crow.³⁷

The history of Horry County and its surrounding areas, by Geoff Bedford provides a detailed history of the integration of public schools in Horry County and outlines the role African-American leaders, such as Singleton, played in making integration a smooth process. Further, it elaborates how the county's African-American school was incorporated into the new Horry County School system. Similarly, Dr. Janice

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Francis B. Simpkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), xvii.

Bock Modjeski's doctoral dissertation, *The Whittemore School: An African-American School in Horry County, South Carolina, 1870-1970*, provides a depiction of the desegregation of public schools in Horry County. She traces the development of the prominent African-American high school in Conway, South Carolina, which was named after Benjamin Franklin Whittemore (1824-1894), an official of the Freedman's Bureau.

Modjeski's research further provides valuable information on the integration of public schools in Horry County and the impact of integration on Conway's African-American community. Also, Modjeski presents community reactions through interviews with citizens, teachers, and administrators who worked at the Whittemore School which will be presented later in this historical narrative. Furthermore, Modjeski's work is significant because of the discussion of Singleton and other Horry County African-American leaders who struggled to ensure that at least one of the original African-American schools retained the name "Whittemore." This action was advocated to secure the history and legacy of the school, which is part of the heritage of African Americans in Conway, South Carolina.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

History has clearly demonstrated that especially effective leaders often tend to emerge during periods of social change. Hence, Singleton and grassroots leaders are no exception. An understanding of African-American leadership and grassroots civil rights leaders, specifically in Horry County, is essential in efforts to present the significance of a leader like Singleton. However, African-American leadership must first be defined. Ronald W. Walters and Robert C. Smith, in their work, *"African-American Leadership,"*

suggest that the general concept of leadership has a wide variety of definitions that are both implicit and explicit.³⁸ Everett C. Ladd's work, *"Negro Political Leadership,"* states that negro leaders are considered to be persons able to make decisions affecting the choice of race objectives and/or the means utilized to attain them.³⁹ Donald R. Mathews, who presents what he calls an "operational" definition of negro leaders in his work, *"The Social Backgrounds of Decision Makers."* Mathews maintains that leaders are "the person(s) most often thought of as a Negro leader by Negroes."⁴⁰

However, M. Elaine Burgess, in her work, *"Negro Leadership in a Southern City,"* defines an African-American leader as an individual whose behavior affects the patterning of behavior within the African-American community at a given time.⁴¹ Clearly this definition of leadership applies to Singleton because he set the tone for the African-American community when he addressed, and in some cases, attacked incidences of racism being demonstrated in Horry County. Moreover, the community rallied behind Singleton in protest, which is a major theme of this historical narrative.

Donald Phillips, in his work, *"Martin Luther King, Jr. on Leadership,"* also presents a clear and simple definition of leadership. Phillips states:

Leadership is leaders acting, as well as caring, inspiring, and persuading others to act, for certain shared goals that present the values, the wants, the needs, and the aspirations and expectations of themselves and the people they represent. And the genius of leadership lies in the manner in

³⁸ Robert W. Walters and Robert C. Smith, *African American Leadership* (New York: State University of New York Press, 19099). 7.

³⁹ Everett C. Ladd, *Negro Political Leadership* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 4.

⁴⁰ Donald R. Mathews, *The Social Backgrounds of Decision Makers* (New Jersey: Doubleday, 1954) 178.

⁴¹ M. Elaine Burgess, *New Leadership in a Southern City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962) 77.

which leaders care about, visualize, and act on their own, and their followers' values and motivations.⁴²

Further, Phillips asserts that there are three key points that are vitally important in this definition. First, leadership omits the use of cohesive power and moves others by caring, by inspiring, and by persuading. Second, leaders have a bias action and a sense of urgency that are centered around shared goals. Finally, leaders act with respect for values of the people they represent—which are consistent with their own personal convictions.⁴³ Clearly Singleton possesses these qualities and has demonstrated them as a successful pastor and civil rights activist in Horry County for the past forty years.

Research on African-American leadership during the civil rights era indicates that civil rights activists, such as Singleton and other NAACP leaders, utilized strategies adopted by leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., during the 1950s and 1960s. For example, Phillips presented a number of strategies used by King which were similarly used by Singleton in his battle to reveal examples of hidden racism in Horry County, South Carolina. Phillips asserts that African-American leaders should involve the people they lead, use compromise and negotiation, and accommodate the masses they lead in times of protest, such as boycotts.⁴⁴

Relative to involving and organizing the people, King wrote in 1959, "The biggest job in getting any movement off the ground is to keep together the people who form it. This task requires more than a common aim. It demands a philosophy that wins and

⁴² Donald Phillips., *Martin Luther King, Jr. on Leadership*. (New York: Hachette Book Group, USA, 1998), 23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 38-41.

holds the people's allegiance, and it depends upon open channels of communication between the people and their leaders."⁴⁵ This strategy was apparent when Singleton rallied the African-American community in Horry County and held meetings at his church that attracted hundreds who supported him and the Conway football boycott in 1989.

Compromise and negotiation as a strategy were attempted by Singleton in his efforts to change and to reach a compromise with Coach Chuck Jordan and other school officials during the football boycott. Unfortunately, negotiations failed and a compromise was never reached. As far as innovation and accommodation, Phillips uses King as an example when he writes:

King had to accommodate Montgomery's African-American community during the boycott in 1955. He and other leaders had to ensure that black residents had some form of transportation other than the city's bus line. Thus, under King's leadership, African Americans in Montgomery organized carpools with more than forty pick ups and dispatch stations located strategically around the city. In addition, many African Americans offered their cars and those who did not work also transported people all day throughout the city.⁴⁶

Similarly, Singleton and the South Carolina NAACP leaders allowed blacks to purchase much needed necessities, such as gas and food, during their economic boycott against South Carolina tourist industry which commenced in 1999. Moreover, Singleton and the NAACP allowed Atlantic Beach, a black owned and operated town in North Myrtle

⁴⁵ Ibid., 136.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 41.

Beach, South Carolina, to operate as usual because the town really needed the revenue to survive.⁴⁷

Finally, an African-American leader must master the art of public speaking. Public speaking is a quality that all leaders must possess if they wish to reach and motivate the people to take part in protest.⁴⁸ History is filled with African-American leaders who could move and excite the masses of people they led. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass is a worthy example. Anthropologist and historian J. A. Rogers, in his work *World's Great Men of Color*, wrote the following concerning Douglass's speaking visits to England: "He (Douglass) literally swept England off its feet. Leonine, majestic, lithe, graceful, and peerless in his eloquence, he stirred the audience with his clear, expressive voice like a bugle sounding the charge. Some acclaimed him the greatest living orator."⁴⁹ Correspondingly, Singleton also has exemplified unusual skills as an orator. Throughout his forty years as a pastor, educator, and civil rights activists, he has delivered a multitude of speeches that rallied his audiences. Singleton's televised press conference speech that ignited the Conway football boycott is only one of many examples of his excellent skills as an orator (see appendix 6 for the written speech he delivered).

⁴⁷ Eric Reed, "Black Owned Beach Looks to Protect Itself," *The Sun News*, February 13, 2003, 1.

⁴⁸ Phillips., 80.

⁴⁹ Joel Augustus Rogers, *Worlds Great Men of Color*, Vol. II (New York: MacMillian Publishing Company, 1972), 339.

THE IMPACT OF BLACK LIBERATION THEOLOGY ON SINGLETON'S LEADERSHIP IDEOLOGY

Discourse on black liberation theology also influenced Singleton's leadership skills and ideology as a minister and civil rights activist. These writings cogitate black liberation theology and black power. James H. Cone, who is considered the founder of black liberation theology, asserted that black theology arose because of the need for black people to define the scope and meaning of black existence in a white racist society.⁵⁰ Although this black awareness manifested itself during the civil rights movement, it was a continuation of a long history of struggle for liberation. Further, Cone, in his work *A Black Theology of Liberation*, writes: "Theology [black] is a rational study of the being of God in the world in light of the existential situation of an oppressed community, relating the forces of liberation to the essence of the gospel, which is Jesus Christ".⁵¹

Similarly, H. Wayne House reinforces this point by writing:

Black theology is a form of liberation theology and it is not interested in Western discussions about God. Black theologians believe that the questions about God's essence and attributes are fruitless. Instead, they are concerned about discovering a God who will involve Himself in the black experience and deliver them.⁵²

House further states that what African Americans want to know is what God has to say about the black condition, and what His relevance is in the struggle against the forces of

⁵⁰ James H. Cone, "Black Theology and Black Liberation," in *Black Theology, The South African Voice*, 49.

⁵¹ James H. Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippencott, 1970), 66.

⁵² H. Wayne House, *An Investigation of Black Liberation Theology*, available from <http://www.hwhouse.com/current%20Articles%20Downloads/Theology> (accessed January 9, 2008). 3-15.

evil which seek to destroy black being.⁵³ Like House, Cone threatens to destroy God if He is not in favor of black liberation. Hence, Cone concludes that if God is not for us, then God is a murderer and we better kill God.⁵⁴ Further, Cone bases a large percentage of his liberation theology on God's deliverance of Israel from oppression delivered by the Egyptians. The consistent theme in Israelite prophecy is Yahweh's [God of the ancient Hebrews] concern for the lack of social, economic, and political justice for those who are poor and unwanted in society. Moreover, this same God will liberate African Americans from racism and oppression today.⁵⁵

Cone also writes that black power is a phrase that represents both black freedom and black self-determination, wherein black people no longer view themselves without human dignity, but as men, human beings with the ability to carve out their own destiny.⁵⁶ Singleton was particularly inspired by Cones' work, "Black Theology and Black Power". In this work, Cone gives a definition of black power that has been quoted by activists of the past, such as Malcolm X. Cone states that black power means "complete emancipation of black people from white oppression by whatever means black people deemed necessary."⁵⁷ Further, Cone believed that in order for African Americans to be liberated, violence may be a strategy and hopefully the last resort. Eventually, after he received a number of death threats, Singleton armed himself to protect his family.

⁵³ Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*. 77.

⁵⁴ Cone, "Black Theology and Black Liberation".

⁵⁵ Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation*. 19.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid

Moreover, Singleton and other civil rights leaders were labeled “racists” by the white power structure of both Horry County and other parts of South Carolina. Further, Singleton was described as a person who consistently created tension between African Americans and whites when he revealed incidents of hidden racism. Cone describes this problem that emerged for African-American civil rights advocates when he wrote:

When black power advocates refuse to listen to their world-be liberators, they are charged with creating hatred among black people, thus making significant personal relationships between blacks and whites impossible. It should be obvious that the hate which black people feel toward whites is not due to the creation of the term “Black Power.” Rather, it is a revolt of the deliberate and systematic ordering of society on the basis of racism, making black alienation not only possible, but inevitable.⁵⁸

Similarly, Carolyn Pitts, an affirmative action officer for the New York State Insurance Fund, discussed this issue that also emerged in the late 1980s. African Americans were described as racist because of the empowerment thrust connected to the utilization of the term Black Power. Pitts wrote, in a document that provided ways to deal with race matters, the following:

In the United States at present, only whites can be racists, since whites dominate and control the institutions that create and enforce American culture norms and values. Blacks and other third world people do not have access to power to enforce any prejudices that may have so they cannot by definition be racist. All white individuals in our society are racist. Even if a white is totally free from all conscious racial prejudices, he receives benefits distributed by a white racist society through its

⁵⁸ Ibid., 6.

institutions. Our institutional and cultural processes are so arranged as to automatically benefit whites, just because they are white.⁵⁹

Hence, African Americans are not racists, but rather continue to suffer from an unhealed sore that has manifested itself since their forced migration from Africa.

In conclusion, institutional, individual, and cultural racism (hidden racism) are the challenges Singleton faced in his struggles to seek out and change racism in Horry County, South Carolina. Additionally, it may have not been possible if he did not utilize the strategies and leadership skills created and proven to work by past civil rights activists. What's more important is that King and leaders of the civil rights era did not create these strategies and leadership ideologies. They can be traced back to slavery and the abolitionist movement. Ironically and thankfully, these strategies are still effective today.

⁵⁹ Smith, 30.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SINGLETON LEGACY

Sharecropping was very prominent in farming regions, such as Edgefield County. In fact, Reverend H. H. Singleton, II's father, Harry Henry Singleton, Sr., earned his living in this system. Harry Henry Singleton, Sr. was born in Edgefield in May of 1889. Like most African Americans at that time, the elder Singleton never really knew the exact date of his birth. What is known is that he was the illegitimate son of Sally Bowman of Edgefield, and Harry H. Singleton of Pennsylvania.

Traditionally, illegitimate children, like Harry Singleton, Sr., took the last name of their father. Harry Singleton Sr. had no formal education but was considered to be very bright by people who knew him.¹ He worked all of his life on a large plantation owned by a white landowner named Randford Cantelo. Singleton was not considered to be a tenant farmer but was the foreman or driver who supervised the wage hands hired by Cantelo. His duties included the distribution of supplies to other sharecroppers that worked for Cantelo, and to hire wage hands and farmers. Throughout Singleton's long life, he never made more than forty dollars a week.²

¹ Reverend H. H. Singleton, II, interview by author, January 4, 2004, Conway, South Carolina.

² Ibid.

Due to his employment with the Cantelos, Harry Singleton, Sr. was well-respected by white citizens in Edgefield, as well as by African Americans in the county. Singleton's family never had problems with whites despite the fact that Edgefield had a history of violence and high tension between the races.³ In 1911, Harry Singleton, Sr. married India Curry, who was born in Edgefield County in July 1893. Like her husband, she was never certain of the exact day of her birth. Curry brought to the union one son, Thomas, from a previous relationship. Born in 1910, Thomas was reared by Harry as his own biological son. India Curry earned a living, like most African-American women at this time, as a domestic worker in the homes of whites.

Harry and India Singleton had eight additional children between 1912 and 1932. She gave birth to her youngest child on January 29, 1932 and named him Harry H. Singleton, II. Harry Singleton, II attended the segregated elementary and high schools in Edgefield and graduated from Edgefield Academy High School in 1950. During his secondary school years, he excelled in football, basketball, and baseball and gained a reputation in sports. Similar to many African-American families during this era, Singleton's siblings never finished high school. The maintenance of the family took precedence over education in the rural south for those families that were tied to the land. Singleton's older siblings had to go to the fields, plant corn, and pick cotton. Hence, Harry H. Singleton, II was the only sibling of the family to graduate and receive a high school diploma.⁴

During his high school years, Singleton recalls many examples of racism that impacted his activism throughout his life. He vividly recalls that when playing football

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

in Edgefield, his team would be invited to see the white teams play. Similarly, at one of these games, Singleton's coach was actually slapped by Edgefield's Chief of Police, James Autts, because Autts felt the teammates were too boisterous at the game. Singleton recalls incidents of African Americans being pushed off sidewalks downtown if they did not step aside to allow a white person to pass or if they did not move fast enough.⁵

Also, during high school, Singleton, II dated Annie Mae Oliphant and they married in 1952. Born in April 1934 to James and Annie Bell Oliphant, Annie Mae's father affectionately called "Son," purchased forty acres of land in Edgefield, South Carolina called "The Promised Land" around the mid-1940s. Son was an excellent provider and prospered as he managed to take care of his family, as well other African-American families who were less fortunate. Similarly, African Americans who provided care to other families can be traced back to the Reconstruction era in Edgefield.⁶ African-American families often moved in with others for many reasons. Prosperous families, such as the Oliphants, took in many members of their extended family, and cared for the elderly, poor, and disabled.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Orville V. Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina*. [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985], p. 277.

Mrs. Singleton recalls her father providing food and other items for the needy families that lived nearby.⁷ Similarly, Orville Burton's history of Edgefield supports this fact. He commented, "The mixed households exemplified the sense of responsibility that African Americans felt for others in the community." Burton also wrote, "African Americans in every occupation opened their homes to relatives and non-relatives alike. Non-relatives were sometimes boarders but more often were unofficial members of the family"⁸

In July of 1952, their first child, DeVera Ann Singleton, was born on New Year's Eve. The young couple resided with Annie's father. Singleton worked several jobs in the early years of the marriage including driving trucks for different companies. Singleton's father wanted him to work the fields or pursue a career as a supervisor of wage hands working for little or nothing for white landowners. However, the young Singleton had the desire to advance educationally and to provide for a new family. Among Singleton II's many desires was the burning thirst to pursue an education beyond high school. It was also during this time, he was "called" to the ministry. The call was instrumental in his desire to seek more education. Thus, his ambitions led to changes in his life. Moreover, the mid-1950s, Singleton II and his family resided with his older brother, Thomas Singleton, and his wife in Columbia, South Carolina. This move was a stepping stone in the Singleton's life because it began his long journey on the road to pursue his goals and leave Edgefield permanently.

⁷ Annie M. Singleton, interview by author, January 4, 2004, Conway, South Carolina.

⁸ Burton. 229.

SINGLETON'S PURSUIT OF A BETTER LIFE

At the turn of the twentieth century, the only occupations that most African Americans could pursue were in the ministry and education.⁹ As a carry-over from slavery and Reconstruction, these individuals assumed the responsibility of educating the majority of the illiterate African-American population. In South Carolina and other areas of the south, African Americans also had a rich religious tradition. During slavery, religion played two central roles. First, the religion of African Americans helped them to endure the many hardships of enslavement and racism. Second, religion provided emotional, social, and political support.¹⁰ While social support was provided, the church, led by African-American ministers, played an important role in providing opportunities for slaves to obtain some education. Subsequently, many would not have had the opportunity for an education because of the efforts of the African American church.

After the Civil War, churches played a support role in assisting teachers who traveled to the South to teach newly freedmen in South Carolina. For example, when a Freedman's Bureau teacher, Martha Schofield, ventured south to teach, the church supported her. This support maintained her spiritually and physically because northern teachers, both African Americans and whites, were constantly harassed by subversive organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. After Schofield established her school in Aiken, South Carolina in 1869, the local African Methodist Episcopal Church held a special

⁹ Robert E. Botch and Carol J. Botch, *African Americans and the Palmetto State* (Columbia: South Carolina State Department of Education, 1994), 122.

¹⁰ Ibid.

meeting to thank her. Later, when the school's budget dwindled, the church raised forty-two dollars to keep the school open.¹¹

The church played little or no role in politics on the plantation before emancipation. However, from Reconstruction to the present, ministers were vocal and influenced public policy, particularly since the focus of their sermons was on the evils of society and how to correct them. After the Civil War, many African-American churches supported the politics of the Republican Party.¹² Leaders were elected to positions in state and national government. For example, Methodist minister Benjamin Franklin Whittemore (1824-1894) was both elected to political office and an educator. What is most important is that Whittemore worked with the Freedman's Bureau in South Carolina and established the first school for African Americans in Horry County, South Carolina which bears his name, Whittemore High School located in Conway, South Carolina.¹³ Ministers also became central figures in the community as well as teachers. Hence, Singleton decided to pursue careers in education and the ministry.

In 1955, at the age of twenty-three, Singleton enrolled in Allen University in Columbia, South Carolina. He had a passion for science and decided to major in psychology with a minor in biology. Further, he studied theology and became certified to teach in the public schools. In May of 1959, Singleton received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Allen University. In 1955 and 1956, he studied theology at the J. J. Starks School of Theology, located at Benedict College, also in Columbia. Similar to Allen

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

University, Benedict College was founded to benefit newly-freed African Americans. Financial support for the college was provided by Mrs. Bathsheba A. Benedict of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, for whom the school was named. Benedict College was chartered as a liberal arts college by the South Carolina Legislature on November 2, 1894.¹⁴ The college's original objective was to train teachers and ministers. The first curriculum offered reading, writing, and arithmetic. Later, an industrial department was added, offering carpentry, shoemaking, and painting.¹⁵

At the age of twenty-six, Singleton's first assignment was as pastor of Springfield Baptist Church in Greenwood, South Carolina located near Edgefield. Singleton served as pastor from 1958 to 1961. He also served as a visiting pastor at First Baptist Church located in North Augusta, South Carolina where parts of Augusta lie within South Carolina state borders. In 1959, Singleton moved his family from Columbia to Marion, South Carolina. During this time, Singleton began his teaching career at Jonakin High School. While teaching in Marion, Singleton, II traveled to Loris, South Carolina. He became the pastor of Silent Grove Baptist Church where he served as pastor until 1964. Also during 1962 and 1964, Singleton traveled to another small town where he served as pastor of Hill Chapel Baptist Church located in Nichols, South Carolina.¹⁶

In 1964, when he was thirty-two years of age, Singleton became the pastor of Cherry Hill Missionary Baptist Church in Conway, South Carolina. Conway is located fourteen miles west of Myrtle Beach. In August 1965, Singleton and his family moved to Conway and into the church parsonage, located on Highway 501, which was the main

¹⁴ *Benedict College Student Handbook*, (Columbia: Benedict College, 2003), xx.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i.

¹⁶ Reverend H.H. Singleton. Interview.

street that led to Myrtle Beach. Singleton enrolled his children at Whittemore elementary school. At that same time, Singleton began teaching at Chestnut High School, another African-American school located in North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.¹⁷ During Singleton's early years as a young pastor, many new members were attracted to his ministry. His congregation consisted of a large percentage of middle-class African Americans. Moreover, many of his members were attorneys, teachers, and principals of elementary and high schools.

SINGLETON AND THE DESEGREGATION OF HORRY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Southern education, pre- and post-*Brown v. Board of Education*, met with continuous opposition and Horry County was no exception. South Carolina schools were still segregated in 1965. Although all states should have desegregated ten years earlier, based on the 1955 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, South Carolina, like most states, had not done so. Moreover, most citizens seemed content with segregated schools in Horry County. This attitude changed by 1970, and Singleton emerged as a new leader for Horry County's African-American community. Historically, after the Brown decision, Horry County as well as the rest of the south, attempted to delay the integration of public schools which they were to implement according to the Brown decision. Attempts to fight integration in Horry County were initiated in 1952 when Thurman W. Anderson was Superintendent of Horry County Public Schools. Elected in 1940, Anderson was considered both a fine educator and politician. Hence, Anderson was

¹⁷ Ibid.

elected again in 1944, 1948, and 1952, often without opposition.¹⁸ In 1952 to justify equality in the county's public schools, he implemented a study of the African-American schools and proposed a plan to make the schools equal, but nevertheless separate. At that time, James Byrnes, Governor of South Carolina, promoted improving education in the state but did not support integration. South Carolina had existing laws upholding the segregation of schools as did seventeen other southern states. Interestingly, Byrnes felt that such laws were fair only in the state if it provided both African-American schools and white schools with equal facilities. Thus, Byrnes proposed a three percent sales tax with the revenue earmarked solely to improving school facilities for both races.¹⁹ Clearly, this was a move to prevent integration.

In 1954, a one cent sales tax was enforced in Horry County based on Byrnes' proposal. The county then began to spend millions of dollars to improve schools and transportation. African-American schools in the county were consolidated and the majority of the money was spent on improving African-American schools to ensure adequate facilities. Surprisingly, in the late 1950s, Horry County African-American school buildings were superior to the white schools. Although South Carolina schools had a history of being inadequate when compared to other systems in the state, by 1960 Horry County compared favorably with others in the state.²⁰ Whittemore High School was an exemplary African-American school with a long history extending back to Reconstruction. The city of Loris developed a good high school called Finklea, while

¹⁸ Geoff Bedford, *The Independent Republic: A Survey History of Horry County* (Conway, South Carolina: Horry County Historical Society, 1989), 157.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 157.

Myrtle Beach had Chestnut High School. Elementary schools for African Americans in Horry County ranged from average to poor.²¹

Many whites in Horry County agreed that the achievement levels of African-American students were far below those of white students during this period. Others were against and feared that the integration of public schools would lower the academic levels of all schools and cause white students to fall far below the national average.²² Further, rumors circulated in Horry County that the white people feared contracting a disease from African Americans if they came in contact with them, yet whites were not afraid of them as domestics and butlers in their homes. White people also feared that African Americans were naturally lawless and violent, which are stereotypical views that emanated from slavery.²³

Clearly, the main reason why Horry County whites did not wish to integrate was the racism deeply rooted in southern culture. Southern whites were taught throughout history that African Americans were inferior and less than human. The idea of white children attending school with black children was beyond comprehension. After the Brown decision was handed down, people in the south vowed to stop it.²⁴ The Supreme Court did not determine any guidelines regarding how desegregation should take place in the 1954 decision, thus the need for Brown in 1955 calling for desegregation with all deliberate speed. The court rejected the NAACP's call for a force with decree, but

²¹ Ibid., 158.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 159.

²⁴ Ibid.

ordered desegregation to begin immediately. Subsequently, this gave southern states more ground to resist.²⁵

With the emergence of the civil rights era, shortly after the *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* case, desegregation gained more ground from a legal standpoint. Victories were won in the courts and legislation such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was passed in Congress. This Act gave the Executive Branch of the United States government the power to withhold federal funds from schools that were not desegregated.²⁶ Similarly, the enforcement of the Brown decision was given to the Health, Education and Welfare Department and the United States Justice Department. Consequently, all white schools observed African-American students entering their schools in many areas of the county.

In Horry County, the Freedom Choice Plan was implemented to speed up integration. One of the legal tactics used by southern states to stall integration and utilized in Horry County was the Freedom of Choice Plan. This plan allowed African-American students to attend any school in the district.²⁷ Thus, by 1968, Harry H. Singleton, II and other African-American parents in Horry County sent their children to the white schools. This move was interpreted in two ways. First, Singleton and other parents sent their children to integrate the white schools because it was their legal right under the plan. Second, it was a form of protest. Unfortunately, opposition existed in the African-American community. Singleton and other parents were criticized by some

²⁵ *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

²⁶ Bedford, 158.

²⁷ Ibid.

people in the community. Several residents actually asserted that Singleton thought his children were too good to attend the Whittemore School. The African-American community also harbored some reluctance in integrating the public schools. Moreover, they feared that students would not be treated fairly and would constantly be subject to physical and verbal attacks by whites.

An example of mistreatment involved Covell and Mary Moore, educators at the Whittemore School. They enrolled their son, Covell, Jr., in Conway High School in 1968. He scored the highest grade in the class and the white teacher reprimanded him for not performing better. No one else was reprimanded. According to Janice Bock Modjeski, who did extensive research on the Whittemore School, the action of this white teacher not only illustrated a negative bias towards African Americans, but showed that the white schools were no better than the African-American schools, since the highest score in the class was not recognized as the best.²⁸ Hence, African-American parents in the community did not encourage their children to attend white schools. Many parents felt that African-American students attending the white school had to endure tremendous emotional pressures.²⁹ Conversely, Singleton's children attended the white school during what had been known as the era of "token integration" in 1968. His children did not experience any problems at the schools. They were accepted by white students and were actually catered to by white teachers. This generosity may have been because Singleton II would have dealt with the issue.

²⁸ Janice Modjeski, Ph.D., *The Whittemore School: An African American School in Horry County, South Carolina, 1870-1970* [dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1999], 159.

²⁹ Ibid.

However, the Singleton family experienced some racial strife. Two crosses were burned at his church and on his front lawn that may have demonstrated signs of opposition to his children attending the white schools. These cross burnings were believed to be the work of the local Ku Klux Klan, but was never proven.³⁰ Many African Americans who allowed their children to attend white schools were threatened with losing their jobs and their homes. Although some schools were integrated as a result of the Free Choice Plan, the Plan was an ineffective way of promoting integration.

After this ruling, efforts to bring total integration were undertaken by Singleton and other African-American leaders in Horry County. Some of the most influential leaders in the county were ministers like Singleton, including Reverend Rufus Daniels of Friendship Baptist Church and Elder Edward H. Brockington of Conway Church of God in Christ. Other influential leaders included James Scott of Bucksport, Joshua Vaught of Wampee, and Fred Watson of Loris. Singleton, Brockington, and Daniels strategically led and made the majority of the decisions in the African-American community (see Appendix 4 for a photo of African-American leaders in 1967). Other members of the committee included Reverend William H. Barnwell, Mr. Gibb Dozier, and Mrs. Catherine H. Lewis, who is white and chronicled the history of Horry County. Further, these leaders formed the Conway Forum for Better Community Relations. The purpose of this organization was to foster interracial cooperation among the races. The committee believed that the problems in the African-American community were also problems in the

³⁰ Burton, 158.

white community, and that the solution to solve these problems required understanding and interracial cooperation.³¹

By 1970, racial tension concerning immediate integration of Horry County Schools escalated. After several boycotts initiated by students at Whittemore High School, Singleton, Daniels, and Brockington met with the Horry County Board of Education. At this meeting, the committee presented a list of demands and a plan to boycott Myrtle Beach's businesses if their demands were not considered. The demands were as follows:

1. Longs and Bucksport Schools would continue as integrated in their areas.
2. Black schools, such as Chestnut, Whittemore, Watson, and Carver would be retained.
3. Advisory boards should be re-organized to include African Americans.
4. Adjustment to the election process to ensure the election of African Americans to the Horry County Board of Education.
5. Retention of African-American principals of their schools after they are integrated.
6. Inclusion of African American Studies to the regular school curriculum.
7. Utilization of use the consultation center of the University of South Carolina to prepare white teachers for integration and eliminate closed meetings.³²

³¹ Ibid., 160.

³² Ibid.

Shortly after the meeting, these leaders planned a boycott to gain support for their demands. Additionally, other civil rights leaders in the county were asked to participate and various civil rights organizations were called upon to lend their support.³³ However, Reverend Daniels was concerned about how the white community might react to the meeting and the boycott because the Ku Klux Klan had just paraded (1970) in Conway. Thereafter, Daniels contacted Catherine Lewis and expressed his concerns and Lewis contacted Reverend George Lovell, Chairman of the biracial committee, who met with Daniels immediately. As a result of the meeting, the sheriff, Conway police chief and county police were all contacted and agreed to lend their support in order to prevent any racial strife.³⁴

Reverend Daniels was given credit for the vital role he played in preventing any possible racial tension. However, much credit should also be given to Reverend George Lovell. In order to make the interracial process proceed smoothly in Horry County, Lovell, a white minister put his reputation, church, and future on the line to ensure the transition took place without racial tension.³⁵ Further, racial tension created sharp conflict with his Board of Deacons. Also, there is no accurate count of the number of members who withdrew from the church. Nevertheless, Reverend Lovell survived and inspired other white ministers to assist in the making integration more peaceful. Geoff Bedford gave some credit to County Superintendent Thurman W. Anderson and the group of African-American principals with whom he worked for mediating the situation.

³³ Ibid., 161.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., 166.

African Americans appeared to trust Anderson's judgment and felt he would do what he could to make integration a pleasant experience. Although African-American leaders did not like Anderson, they felt that he had done only what he was forced to do.³⁶

Interestingly, Reverend Daniels was elected as one of the vice presidents of the county Democratic Party in March 1970.

Consequently, the Board of Education did not consider most of the integration demands of African-American leaders. The Chestnut School was renamed North Myrtle Beach High School. Whittemore was renamed Conway Junior High School. Carver Elementary was renamed Central Elementary, and Watson Elementary was renamed A. Loris Middle School.³⁷ Similarly, Modjeski wrote the first years of integration were difficult for the African-American community in Conway. The merging of African-American and white schools did not happen. Instead, the disassembling of the schools occurred.³⁸ Further, Covell Moore believed that if integration had been done fairly, it would have provided the commonality that America needed. Since integration had not been carried out fairly, Moore felt that truly separate but equal schools were better than disadvantaged togetherness.³⁹ Integration proceeded in the county and was completed by 1972. Despite the unfairness of integration in Horry County, the memories of the schools are still with the African-American community, especially with the previous Whittemore school in Conway. To this day, the Whittemore Alumni Ball is an annual celebration held by the alumni of the school during the Christmas holidays.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Modjeski, 160.

³⁹ Ibid.

Throughout the 1970s, Singleton, Daniels and Brockington continued as leaders of the African-American community in Horry County. Moreover, their influence extended to other surrounding counties. After the death of Daniels in March 1983, Singleton emerged as the county's premier leader as Horry County adjusted to integration during the 1970s and 1980s. Relations between the two races continued to be uneventful. However, race relations changed drastically in the late 1980s. At the age of fifty-seven, Singleton was forced back into a racial struggle that personally involved him and endangered his livelihood.

SINGLETON AND THE CONWAY HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL BOYCOTT

Today, it appears that racism has prevailed in the world of sports. History indicates that African Americans were excluded from professional sports. Once African-American athletes were accepted, they had to endure blatant racism from their fellow team mates and others. Furthermore, African-American athletes were excluded from playing important roles that required intellect and leadership, such as the role of the quarterback in football or as coaches of a major sports team.

Eric Bruce's article entitled, *Rush Limbaugh and Black Quarterbacks*, confirms this stereotypical view of African-American athletes. Further, Limbaugh was terminated by ESPN-NFL television network as a commentator for making remarks that were perceived to be racist concerning Philadelphia Eagles quarterback, Donovan McNabb. Bruce wrote:

The quarterback is the most important guy on offense. He handles the ball on every play. The position requires physical ability, but less of it than

most of the other positions on the field; certainly less than any defensive position. Playing quarterback also requires a lot more mental analysis and speed than any other position, and that's where the white racist's mindset is hung on. Sure, they thought African Americans were faster and stronger and can jump higher, but whites are naturally more intelligent, and the black man is not smart enough to play quarterback.⁴⁰

Since the 1970s, slowly a few African-American athletes appeared in the position of quarterback. By the late 1990s, the number of African-American quarterbacks increased. By 2000, these athletes dominated football and basketball. By this time, advocates reported on the superiority of the skills of African-American athletes. For instance, Gary Kamiya wrote that African Americans are genetically superior to white athletes. It is the genetics of African Americans derived from their African ancestry. Kamiya further reinforced his point when he wrote:

African Americans with a West African ancestry generally have relatively less subcutaneous fat on arms and legs and proportionally more lean body and muscle mass, broader shoulders, larger quadriceps, and bigger, more developed musculature in general; small chest cavities; a higher center of gravity. . .faster patellar tendon reflex; greater body density. . .modest, but significantly higher, levels of plasma testosterone. . . which is anabolic, theoretically contributing to greater muscle mass, lower fat, and the ability to perform at a higher level of intensity with quicker recovery; a higher percentage of fast-twitch muscles and more anaerobic enzymes, which can translate into more explosive energy.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Eric Bruce, "Rush Limbaugh and Black Quarterbacks," http://www.blackchampagne.com/articles/rusj_gbs.shtml [accessed October 29, 2005].

⁴¹ Gary Kamiya, "The Black Edge: Are Athletics of African American Descent Genetically Superior?" <http://archives.solon.com/books/features/2000/01/28.taboo/index.html> [accessed October 10, 2005].

Although Kamiya's analysis of the genetics of African Americans is descriptive and detailed, hidden racism concerning African-American quarterbacks was still an issue even in high school football in 1989.

In April 1989, Chuck Jordan, head football coach and athletic director at Conway High School, called Carlos Hunt, the starting African-American quarterback, into his office (see Appendix 5 for a picture of Coach Chuck Jordan). Hunt had started two seasons for the Conway Tigers as quarterback. During his first season, Hunt led the Tigers to an 8 and 4 season. Hunt's personal record demonstrated that he completed 37 of 92 passes for 605 yards with six touchdowns and five interceptions.⁴² However, Jordan, who is white, had not been pleased with Hunt's performance as a quarterback. Jordan demanded a disciplined, error-free offense. Yet, Jordan considered Carlos as quarterback to be excessively moody and too irresponsible to follow orders.⁴³ For example, on two occasions Hunt angered Jordan by running the football, instead of handing off the ball as he had been instructed. After discussing Hunt with his coaching staff, Jordan replaced Hunt with Mickey Wilson, Jr., the white son of one of the assistant coaches. Wilson, who is much smaller than Hunt, played from time to time in prior seasons. Jordan attempted to give Hunt some justification for switching him to defense by stating that the college recruiters were interested in seeing him play defensive back.⁴⁴

⁴²Hank Hersch, "Choosing Sides: The Town of Conway, S. C. Has Been Torn Apart by a Racial Dispute Involving Two High School Quarterbacks," *Sports Illustrated*, (November 27, 1989): 42.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 43.

In fact, there were at least two other reasons why Jordan made the decision to switch Hunt. First, in November 1988, Jordan loaned Hunt \$80 to assist him in paying for a \$247.50 class ring. After missing several payments, Jordan reprimanded Hunt, who was also a good basketball player, by suspending him from two basketball games. Hunt's suspension raised many red flags because apparently Hunt did not violate any sport rules or curfew that could have substantiated and validated the suspension.⁴⁵ Thus, it appeared to Hunt, as well as to others, that the suspension was done to punish Hunt for non-payment of the indebtedness. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Thomas Lewis, principal of Conway High School, was made aware of the situation, revoked the suspension, and returned Hunt to the team after the first game of his two-game suspension. Angered by Hunt's restoration to the team, Jordan decided not to permit Hunt to play quarterback during the 1989 football season. With the opening of the football season, Hunt participated only as a defensive back or wide receiver or did not play.⁴⁶ This switch seemed more astounding because Hunt was not demoted to backup quarterback and was not given the opportunity to compete with others for the position. Due to the stereotype that African Americans were considered to be mentally inferior, it can be concluded that replacing Hunt with a less experienced, smaller white player further proved that Jordan was also promoting Wilson to college scouts and not Hunt, who had a proven record at the position.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Reverend H. H. Singleton, II, *Televised Press Conference*, Conway, South Carolina. 22 August 1989, 1.

⁴⁷ Hersch, 43.

During the summer of 1989, Hunt received a telephone call from his brother in Conway who informed him that Mickey Wilson would definitely have the position in the upcoming season. Apparently, Hunt decided not to accept Coach Jordan's decision. After his return on July 31, 1989, Hunt confronted Jordan, who refused to reconsider his decision concerning the quarterback position.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Singleton, in his capacity as resident of the local Conway NAACP Chapter, was made aware of the situation by an anonymous phone caller who suggested or alleged that racism may have influenced Jordan in making the switch. Hence, Singleton sent his son, Dr. Harry H. Singleton, III, as a mediator to speak with Hunt and his mother, Katherine Thomas. On August 16, 1989, Singleton II invited Hunt, his mother, other African-American players, and members of the community to his home. Singleton specifically advised Hunt and his mother to pursue the administrative grievance procedures available in the school system.⁴⁹ Moreover, Singleton II arranged an appointment to meet with Jordan to discuss the matter.

On August 18th, Singleton II met with Jordan. While not specifically accusing Jordan of racism at the meeting, Singleton made it clear that he sought Jordan's justification for making the switch and would form an opinion concerning racism after the investigating the incident. Also, Singleton expressed particular concern with statements by Jordan concerning college scouts who had contacted Jordan concerning moving Hunt out of the quarterback slot. During that time, Singleton mentioned that the move constituted racism by steering a black player out of the leadership position of

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 43.

quarterback, a position he alleged was traditionally, because of racism, reserved for white players.⁵⁰ Subsequently, on August 21, 1989, more than thirty African-American players confronted Jordan concerning his decision before practice. Jordan outlined his reasons and informed the players, "You are going to play on my football team. You are going to play on my terms."⁵¹ Reluctantly, the players practiced that day.

That evening, the players and hundreds of members of the African-American community met Singleton II at Cherry Hill Baptist Church to decide a course of action. It must be noted that Singleton II was present and participated in the meeting but did not preside or direct the meeting. He was only an advocate that listened to the concerns of the players and their parents. After one hour and a half, Singleton II asked all to leave except the players present. Thirty minutes later, the players emerged. The players asked Singleton II to act as their spokesman and publicly announced their decision to boycott or strike the football team. On August 22, 1989, the players notified Jordan that they would not play. Later that day, Singleton II held a televised press conference announcing the players' decision (see Appendices 6 and 7 for photo of Singleton's press conference).

Between August 22 and 25, 1989, the boycott drew much concern throughout the county. During this period, Horry County Superintendent John W. Dawsey received many calls from white parents demanding that Singleton II be terminated from his teaching position for holding a press conference alleging racism and associating with the boycott by the African-Americans players. During teacher planning days, the boycott was discussed by teachers at Conway Middle School. The teachers sought advice on how the boycott should be addressed if the topic arose in the classrooms. On August 25,

⁵⁰ Harry H. Singleton v. Horry County School District, c/a no. 4: 89-2219-15b (1991).

⁵¹ Ibid.

1989, an executive session of the Horry County Board of Education was held in the district office building. Board Members that were present included Henry W. Marlow, Dorothy Chandler, Dr. James E. Dunn, Richard E. Heath, Terry Hucks, Richard Jordan, Superintendent John W. Dawsey, Board Attorney Bruce E. Davis, and Board Secretary Irma B. Barker. Board member Franklin B. Barker was absent.⁵² (See Appendix 8 for Horry County Board of Education minutes.)

Reverend Singleton II and the boycott were the top concern on the agenda at this time. Dawsey made the report on the problems with the football program and the boycott by the players. Superintendent Dawsey and attorney Davis advised that they had worked all morning on the football matter, and Singleton's involvement in the boycott. The committee concluded that the players were coerced into this boycott. During this meeting, Dawsey and Davis discussed terminating Singleton because there were strong feelings in the white community that Singleton should be fired immediately. Dawsey also reported that Singleton was causing problems at the school between faculty members but did not give any details. Dawsey predicted a continuation of problems at Conway High School on August 28, 1989, the first day of school. Further, more security was added for the Hillcrest game that night.⁵³ During the Hillcrest football game, a group of strikers shouted, "We want Carlos," and "It is time to take the scrubs off the field."⁵⁴ This occurred each time Hillcrest scored. It is possible that whites in the stands got a little disturbed because high school principal, Thomas Lewis, stated after the game, "It was

⁵² Horry County Board of Education Minutes, August 25, 1989, 2:50 p.m. Executive Session, Derfner Collection, Avery Institute, Charleston, South Carolina.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Hersch, 43.

tough not to send in the police.” But they (strikers) paid their four dollars.”⁵⁵ Dawsey attended the game, but Singleton was not in attendance. Subsequently, Dawsey found the actions of the strikers repulsive. In addition, many white parents approached Dawsey after the game and demanded that Singleton be fired because of his association with the boycott.⁵⁶

Incredibly, Davis and Dawsey advised the Board that they did not feel they had enough concrete evidence that day to fire Singleton. However, the plan to terminate Singleton was evident as the Board worked on obtaining additional concrete information to justify Singleton’s termination. Attorney Davis shared general information regarding the law and the subsequent termination of an educator and stressed the need to have appropriate evidence. In conclusion, Mr. Marlow reminded Board members that all discussions of the matter were confidential, and no statements were to be made to anyone regarding the matter.⁵⁷ (See Appendix 8 for Horry County Board of Education minutes.)

On Monday, August 28, 1989, and the first day of school, there were no substantial disruptions at Conway High School. However, at the middle school where Singleton taught, the parents of sixty-one of eighty white students in Singleton’s classes demanded that their children be assigned to another teacher. Students also refused to attend the classes and parents were uniformly denied their request and were referred to the School District’s grievance procedures.⁵⁸ Subsequently, many parents immediately

⁵⁵ Horry County Board of Education Minutes, August 25, 1989.

⁵⁶ Hersch, 43.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

went to the Horry County Board of Education office and made further threats and demands regarding the removal of their children from Singleton's classes and demanded his termination. Moreover, angry parents threatened to picket school facilities and, classrooms, hold sit-ins, and commit other disruptive acts if Singleton was not terminated.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Singleton reported to school that day and carried out his professional duties. The next day, Dawsey met with Singleton and advised him of the decision of suspension of him from his teaching position and the recommended action of termination. Further, Singleton was asked to remove his personal possessions from his classroom and to leave the school grounds immediately.⁶⁰ Before leaving, Singleton informed Dawsey, "You will see me again, all the way to the United States Supreme Court."⁶¹ Singleton II returned home that morning and appeared to be emotional. According to his son, Dr. Harry H. Singleton, III, when he returned home that morning around 9:30 a.m. and stated, "We have to go get them now, son." Dr. Singleton replied, "What happened?" Visibly shaken by the unexpected suspension, Singleton II responded, "I have just been suspended by John Dawsey."⁶²

Immediately, Singleton II was harassed at home. He received death threats that involved his family. Moreover, Dr. Singleton described receiving a telephone call late one night and a man yelled, "Nigger, I'm coming to kill you, your wife, and your children, right now! "Well, come on then!" I heard my father's voice rising. My father

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Reverend Singleton, interview with author on January 15, 2007.

⁶² Ibid.

owns two guns. He woke me and said, “It’s loaded and ready to fire; just pull the trigger. You see anybody who looks like they are going to hurt this family, shoot first, and ask questions later.”⁶³

Similarly, Coach Jordan experienced problems such as these and received death threats by mail and telephone. His wife, Pat Jordan, who is also a teacher, was given a gun by her father that she kept under her bed.⁶⁴ Jordan’s assistant coaches did not turn their backs on him. They remained loyal, including Nate Thompson, who was raised as a member of Singleton’s congregation. Thompson stated they would all stand by their coach and “this whole thing is at the expense of someone who has never done anything wrong.”⁶⁵

Jordan anticipated that removing Hunt from the quarterback position would provoke responses from Singleton. But Jordan did not believe he would be called racist and a boycott initiated.⁶⁶ Jordan responded to the racist accusations by stating that he initially shifted Hunt to quarterback and he had the right to suspend him for not repaying the loan. Further, Jordan settled the conflict by stating that Hunt could reclaim the quarterback job if Mickey Wilson was injured. Jordan also stated that Hunt told him that he would return to the team but his mother forced him to continue the boycott. Jordan admitted that he could have communicated his reasons for making the move more clearly and sensitively, but he felt his back was in the corner. Jordan also stated, “Personnel

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Hersch, 43.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

decisions cannot be made by parents, pressure groups or administrators, or I am not the coach.”⁶⁷ In retrospect, Jordan felt that he could have settled the dispute with his players if there were no parental intervention.

On November 10, 1989, Conway High School won their last game over Georgetown 7-6. At the end of the game, fans hoisted Jordan in the air, and he was actually given the “hero” treatment. Further, a white man from Columbia, South Carolina came down and passed out bumper stickers that read “Coach Jordan, Coach of the Year.”⁶⁸

After Singleton received Dawsey’s letter, a hearing was not immediately scheduled with the Board of Education. Dawsey stated, “It is up to Singleton to ask for an appeal” and he had fifteen days to do so after he received the notice.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Conway Mayor, Ike Long, organized a biracial task force to resolve the dispute. After the task force’s first meeting, Singleton was interviewed by the *Myrtle Beach Sun News* and stated,

We are standing steadfast but the biracial group is working to bring us all to the negotiating table. I am impressed with the committee (task force). These are people of prudence. I came away feeling we had a long productive meeting. It was a very encouraging experience.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Rebecca James, “District Suspends Singleton,” *The Sun News*, (August 30, 1989): 1A.

⁶⁸ “Boycott Organizers Call Act Unfounded,” *The Sun News*, (August 30, 1989), A1.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ “Singleton Suspended by Dawsey,” *The Horry Independent*, (August 30, 1989), A1.

Subsequently, the African-American community of Horry County immediately rallied behind Singleton when he publicly announced that he was suspended on August 30, 1989 (see Appendix 9 for a picture of Singleton at his press conference). Moreover, word of the suspension spread quickly around the county. Eleanora Tate, a native of Myrtle Beach stated, “He is doing what he believes is right and now everything has been turned into a personal vendetta. A man who has worked for thirty years has got to be a good teacher. If not, he would have been gone a long time ago. People want to be very angry at the messenger without listening to the messages.”⁷¹

Racial upheaval also affected others, such as Jessie Vandross. Vandross quit her job of ten years because of the racial remarks of her employers and co-workers criticizing Singleton. “I voiced my opinion and they told me I had better shut up or find a job somewhere else. It is awful,” she stated. Vandross went on to say, “I did not think people I worked with would act like that.”⁷² After Singleton’s press conference, many in the African-American community voiced their opinions, such as Charles Bellamy, an African American. Bellamy stated, “A man of integrity does not deserve this treatment.” Ralph Henry, also black, responded, “They are trying to fire a man who stands up for the rights of others, including black and white.” He also felt Singleton had good reasons to speak out. Henry also added, “There has been racism in Conway High School. The lawyer’s son, the doctor’s son, and the banker’s son get the opportunity to play quarterback.”⁷³ Conway’s resident, John Gills stated, “They do not want anybody to rock the boat but

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Letter Published to Readers, *The Sun News*, September 14, 1989, 15A.

somebody has got to rock the boat. Singleton is just the one speaking out, and white parents and the school system are using that as a reason to move him out.”⁷⁴

Reaction in the white community was different. According to Sylvia Housley, white parents in the community banded together to pressure Dawsey to fire Singleton because they were concerned about his constant harping on discrimination and racism. Housley went on to say, “When my daughter found out that she had Singleton for a teacher, she said she would not go to his class because she did not want to be taught by a racist person. Further, she heard from the other students how he treated whites.” Another reason Housley why joined the group was obvious when she stated:

I did it mainly because of how I felt about politics in the classroom Singleton’s views should not be brought into the classroom. From what other students have said, Singleton tried to indoctrinate his political feelings and views. That is just what I have heard but not from my daughter. She did not attend his class yesterday. I feel that anybody so outspoken on the television has to flow over.⁷⁵

Housley also stated that she was tired of hearing that this is racially motivated, “We don’t care what color this person is; we just feel that his views should be left to himself and not on our children, that is all.”⁷⁶ To counter this allegation, Singleton stated, “I teach earth science and not social affairs in my classroom.” The parents that organized this group to remove me from the classroom got what they wished for and felt

⁷⁴ Pat Butler, “Race Relations: A Black and White Issue in Conway,” *The State*, September 10, 1989, 1A.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

good about it.”⁷⁷ Yvonne Tyler, another concerned parent commented, “We have accomplished what we set out to do. As of this morning, he was suspended and we are pleased with the decision. We are satisfied right now with what has happened.”⁷⁸

Leaders of the white community thought Singleton’s action polarized the city and perpetuated more harm than good. For example, Conway City Councilman, J. C. Bennett read a statement at a city council meeting indicating he would not support anything Singleton advocated at present or in the future. Bennett also added, “Mr. Singleton’s remarks [his press conference] are not only slanderous but he has caused irreparable harm in our community by causing a division among the races.”⁷⁹ As expected, Singleton was considered a trouble maker. Similarly, an editorial written by L. P. Cunningham printed in the *Myrtle Beach Sun News* on September 14, 1989, probably summed up the white community’s reaction to Singleton’s action. Cunningham wrote:

What business is it of a science teacher to tell another teacher or coach how to handle this situation? I think Singleton likes to see his name in the paper and work up trouble, as each year I have heard nothing but conflict from him. If he thinks he knows more than the school, he should start up his own. Hunt and Singleton are making it more difficult to have harmony among the races. I would not want my child in his classroom because he is so biased. Singleton calls himself a ‘minister;’ most ministers I know try to help, not cause trouble. Instead of preaching love and Christianity in his church, he is preaching how to cause trouble with the races.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Christi Edge, “Blacks Gather to Protest Singleton’s Suspension,” *The Sun News*, (August 30, 1989), 1.

⁷⁸ “Singleton Suspended By Dawsey,” *The Horry Independent*, (August 30, 1989), 9A.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Interestingly, the editor of the *Sun News* wrote that there would be no further publication of articles such as Cunningham's after it was printed on September 14, 1989. State Senator, J. J. "Bud" Long, a Democrat from Myrtle Beach, also supported the School District and Dawsey's suspension of Singleton. Long stated:

When anybody is preaching racial discord, it bothers me. I would like to believe we have made great progress in Horry County although I know there are some instances when people discriminate, whether it is black or white. I have abhorred this thing from the beginning."⁸¹

Further, although the situation drew much criticism from the white community, many white residents sympathized with the African-American community. For example, Tony Albiniak, a white psychology professor at Coastal Carolina University, stated that the major issue was the relationship between the white community and African-American community. Albiniak stated, "The black community realizes that they have very little political influence, and they are not getting the benefits they could."⁸²

Throughout the years prior to 1989, Singleton battled Dawsey and the school Board for equality in education. For example, only months before his suspension, Singleton led a demonstration to change the election methods for the School Board and the Conway City Council and charged the superintendent with racial bias in hiring. In 1989, African Americans held about twelve percent of the teaching positions and eighteen percent of the principal positions. These percentages were not based on the percentage of the black and white populations of Horry County, because, at that time, the

⁸¹ Butler, 1A.

⁸² Ibid.

county was twenty-two percent African American and Conway was forty percent African American. Moreover, there was only one African-American principal among the nine schools in the Conway attendance area.⁸³ Thus, the African-American community was outraged and rallied behind Singleton who challenged and fought for racial equality in the county. These incidents, the suspension of Singleton, and the public's reaction constituted only the "tip of the iceberg" considering what would transpire in the upcoming months after August 1989. As days passed, the words of Reverend James T. McCray, educator and pastor of Sandy Grove Baptist Church, became a reality. McCray stated, "The Conway black community would not be alone in standing up for Singleton. People from all over the world will come to show their support."⁸⁴

THE BOYCOTT AND THE NAACP INTERVENTION

Shortly after Singleton's news conference, approximately seven hundred African Americans gathered at Cherry Hill Baptist Church to protest his suspension (see Appendix 10 for a picture of Singleton addressing the community at Cherry Hill Baptist Church). Although members of the crowd said that further protests were planned that evening, no one, including Singleton, specified what they would be. When Conway High School played Summerville High School on September 1, 1989, it became clear that Conway High's cheerleading squad and band had also joined the football team in the boycott. The Conway band, led by director Leslie McKiver, suffered the most from the boycott. Only the 100-member Summerville band performed during half time. The

⁸³ Edge, 1A.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Conway band could not perform because there were far too few members. McKiver said, "We had a good show lined up but circumstances prevented it. We could not do formations with the crew we had."⁸⁵ Moreover, the football team had to use junior varsity players and they lost the game 42-14.

On September 3, 1989, Singleton and African-American leaders presented a list of demands to Superintendent Dawsey and Coach Jordan. However, the demands were not made public. By September 7, no compromise had been reached. Dawsey said there were some problems with the compromise but did not elaborate. Cleveland Fladger, a spokesman for the Conway community stated, "This strike could have come to an end but Dawsey and Jordan are prejudiced and did not agree with the compromise."⁸⁶ Fladger expressed his disappointment that they did not discuss the issue or Singleton's suspension at the Board meeting that week. Approximately, one hundred and fifty African-American community members, in silent protest, came to the Board meeting, but very few were able to attend due to limited room capacity. The School Board meetings were held in a room with a capacity of thirty. Later, the meeting was interrupted when more than fifty people entered the room. The Conway Fire Department officials and Board Chairman Henry Marlowe asked people to leave and many complied. After the meeting Fladger stated, "I thought on the issue at hand, it should have been addressed. I think they are trying to avoid it, especially the Chairman Marlow."⁸⁷ However, Marlowe believed the School Board was providing leadership on the issue, and felt it should not be discussed

⁸⁵ "Conway Game Quiet: Boycott Spread to Band," *The Sun News*, September 9, 1989, 1A.

⁸⁶ "Conway Boycott Compromise Fails to Materialize," *The Sun News*, September 9, 1989, 10C.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 10C.

publicly. Marlowe indicated that it would be inappropriate and possibly illegal to discuss Singleton's status since it involved a district employee. Marlowe was also against Conway Mayor, Ike Long, forming a biracial task force to deal with an issue that was a school matter and should be dealt with by the School Board.⁸⁸

By the end of the first week of the boycott, the African-American community started to hold regular meetings and peaceful marches. During the second week, Reverend Singleton expected the issued to be resolved. However, he also said if the School Board did not resolve his demands, the national chapter of the NAACP would intervene.⁸⁹ Later that week, South Carolina NAACP leaders visited Horry County and escalated the protest to a much higher level by leading more marches and demonstrations.

The South Carolina NAACP's leaders who assisted Singleton in Conway were Nelson B. Rivers, III and Dr. William Gibson. Rivers was a militant civil rights activist in the 1960s and 1970s. He attended school in Charleston in the 1970s. While in college, Rivers associated himself with the Black Panther Party.⁹⁰ Further, when some of his Panther friends were jailed and NAACP lawyers were able to obtain their release, he became an NAACP supporter. After returning to South Carolina after college, Rivers became a member of the NAACP and helped to revive the North Charleston Chapter in 1984. At the time of the Conway incident, Rivers was the North Charleston Executive Director. In 1994, he moved to Atlanta, Georgia to head the NAACP Southern Regional Office in the city.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ "The NAACP in South Carolina," <http://www.usca.edu.aasc/naacp.htm> [accessed November 20, 2004].

Dr. William Gibson, a dentist from Greenville, served as president of the NAACP South Carolina State Chapter from 1977 to 1997.⁹¹ As a result of the State NAACP intervention, Singleton's protest in Conway also attracted influential people who were instrumental in giving the Conway boycott its national exposure such as the national board president, Dr. Benjamin Hooks.

The NAACP state leaders rallied to support Singleton by September 2, 1989. On that particular day, Gibson and Rivers pledged national and state support from the NAACP. Gibson stated that Singleton would receive "one thousand percent support from both levels" and demanded that Superintendent Dawsey reinstate Singleton. The NAACP statement to Dawsey maintained that the suspension was "the classical racist knee-jerk reaction by whites when African Americans challenge injustice. Dawsey's action [the suspension] resulted from pressure imposed by white parents in an attempt to 'put this uppity colored boy in his place.'"⁹² In an interview later that day, Gibson stated, "I cannot remember when an educator has been reprimanded for merely exercising his First Amendment rights. I was flabbergasted to hear something like Singleton's suspension done at this time in our history."⁹³ Moreover, NAACP leaders associated Singleton's suspension to NAACP members being terminated from their jobs due to their membership supporting civil rights activities that occurred between the 1930s and 1960s.

The news of Singleton's suspension spread quickly in South Carolina. The Charleston branch of the NAACP discussed the incident in a meeting and voiced their

⁹¹ Yolanda Jones, "NAACP Pledges Weekly March," *The Sun News*, September 10, 1989, 1A.

⁹² Christi Edge, "Charleston Blacks Picket Conway's Football Squad," *The Sun News*, September 9, 1989, 1A.

⁹³ Jones, 1A.

concern and offered support and later staged a public protest in Charleston. Nelson Rivers stated that he and the NAACP attorneys would file a lawsuit against Horry County School Board if Singleton was not reinstated.⁹⁴

Similarly, other activists also became involved. For example, the Reverend Franklin Reaves of Mullins, South Carolina filed a complaint of race discrimination against the Horry County School System with the United States Equal Employment Commission and the South Carolina Department of Education. In the complaint, the Commission was asked to conduct an investigation of the district's hiring and firing practices. The South Carolina State Department of Education was asked to conduct an investigation of the school system's practices of allowing parents to take students out of teachers' classes. Reaves also asked Dawsey to provide specific statistics so that they could be analyzed to determine if the School Board was indeed a racist group.⁹⁵

On September 8, the African-American community, led by Singleton and other NAACP leaders, marched in Conway in protest against Singleton's suspension and the football boycott. At this march, a group of seven hundred people ultimately grew to fifteen hundred as they marched through the city of Conway wearing black and white clothing in "A March Against Intimidation" (See Appendix 11 for a photograph of Singleton and other NAACP leaders marching in protest). At least eighty law enforcement officials, including members of the Horry County Police, the South Carolina Highway Patrol, and State Law Enforcement Division lined the mostly deserted

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Robert Anderson, "NAACP Files Lawsuit Against School District," *The Horry Independent*, September 13, 1989, 5A.

sidewalks during the march.⁹⁶ The march commenced at approximately 12:30 p.m. from the Bethel A. M. E. Church parking lot on Racepath Avenue in Conway, South Carolina. The marchers turned onto Highway 501, which is the main street taken by tourists to Myrtle Beach (see Appendix 12 for a photograph of demonstrators marching in protest for Singleton). Jamie Johnson, a white parent who walked beside the marchers, was asked by reporters why she was following the protesters. She stated, "I wanted my children to see a march. Conway is making history today."⁹⁷

After a two-hour march, the marchers arrived at the Horry County School Board Office on 9th Avenue where they were met by over a thousand people. From the back of a pick-up truck, Hunt spoke. His mother and Cleveland Fladger were also spokespersons for the community. Moreover, Singleton, Gibson, and Rivers spoke that day. Rivers stated that the NAACP called for three demands: 1) Hunt must be given an opportunity to try out for quarterback. 2) Singleton must be reinstated as a teacher. 3) Other African-Americans players on strike must be allowed back on the team without punishment.⁹⁸ Further, if the School Board had accepted the demands, the boycott would have ended.

After the speeches, the protesters quietly marched back to the church. Many displayed signs reading "We Want Carlos" and "Do the Right Thing." Thereafter, they pledged to march the following Saturday. In reference to the next march, Mrs. Eloise

⁹⁶ Yolanda Jones, "NAACP Files Suit to Bar Action Against Singleton," *The Sun News*, September 10, 1989, 1A.

⁹⁷ Rebecca James, "Singleton's Suspension Case Assigned to Judge," *The Sun News*, September 13, 1989, 9A.

⁹⁸ Jones, NAACP Pledges Weekly Marches.

Davis, schoolteacher and past Conway Chapter NAACP President stated, “This is just a mini-march; a warm up. Next Saturday will be the big one.”⁹⁹

Meanwhile, the NAACP filed a lawsuit on behalf of Singleton in Florence, South Carolina. The suit filed in federal district court charged that the suspension was in “retaliation for Singleton’s exercise of constitutionally protected free speech and freedom of association,” all guaranteed by the First Amendment. The suit also charged that Singleton had been denied due process under the law. Additionally, an injunction was issued to reinstate Singleton and bar Dawsey and the School District from taking further action against him.¹⁰⁰

At least one expert commented on Singleton’s lawsuit and the legality of Dawsey’s actions. The University of South Carolina law professor Eldon Wedlock wrote, “The whole idea of disruption is a very foggy one in the law. It provides a lot of room for maneuvering but if the School District is going to complain that any disruption to the orderly process of the School District is subject to discipline if the First Amendment is involved. I am sorry, but that is not going to fly.”¹⁰¹

As far as the School Board’s actions, on September 8, Dawsey stated that he awaited the chance for a court hearing which would vindicate him. Dawsey further asserted, “I would have never gone this route if I did not think I had just cause for what I did. I did

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Jones, NAACP Files Suit to Bar Action Against Singleton, 1A.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

not go into this thing as a knee jerk reaction. I went in knowing what the circumstances and facts were.”¹⁰²

By September 10, 1989, the boycott and racial conflict gained the attention of South Carolina Governor, Carroll Campbell and the Human Affairs Commission (HAC). The HAC’s main objective is to prevent and eliminate discrimination. Similarly, the Commission had intervened in other incidents in other parts of the state, such as Saluda, South Carolina, where African Americans were banned from a swimming pool. Moreover, it resolved a dispute at the Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina where an African-American cadet was hazed by several white cadets.¹⁰³

In 1989, James Clyburn, an African-American State Human Affairs Commissioner, immediately traveled to Conway. Upon his arrival, Clyburn decided to take control of the entire matter without consulting Singleton, other NAACP leaders or the African-American community. First, Clyburn made it known that he was there as an emissary of the governor and set up meetings with several people in hopes of resolving these conflicts.¹⁰⁴ Clyburn also made it known that he was there as an emissary of the governor and set up meetings with several people in hopes of resolving these conflicts.¹⁰⁵ Further, Clyburn believed that Singleton’s suspension and the boycott should be addressed separately. Subsequently, Clyburn met with Coach Jordan and prepared a statement inviting the striking players to return to the team. Moreover, white senior

¹⁰² Rebecca James, “South Carolina Human Affairs Chief Investigates Dispute,” *The Sun News*, September 8, 1989, 1A-6A.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

players were asked if the strikers could return and they agreed. The statement also included a declaration of a coach's right to make any personnel decisions that would not be influenced by the players, parents, pressure groups, or administrators. As a result of this action, only two players were reported to have returned to the team.¹⁰⁶

Approximately one week later, Singleton criticized Clyburn's efforts. He stated that Jordan and Clyburn talked with some of the strikers without their parents, which caused the parents to become critical, upset, and outraged at the so-called mediation. Also, Singleton stated that Clyburn's presence had little effect on resolving the conflict. As a result of his investigation, Clyburn found no evidence that validated that Jordan's decisions were racially motivated. Further, he believed the players were pressured into continuing the boycott by parents and Singleton.¹⁰⁷ Hence, Clyburn's findings only made the African-American community more bitter and determined to rally behind the NAACP, Singleton and the players.

The second march occurred on September 15, 1989. Although the weather was bad all day, it did not stop the protesters. Over twenty-five hundred protesters marched in the rain. One protester stated, they were "too determined, dedicated, and disciplined to let the thunderstorm stop them."¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Nelson Rivers, II made a statement that reflected the spirit of the protesters. Rivers asserted, "We will walk in the rain and snow because we will not go back to the bad old days. We are here to help our brother."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ "Conway Coach Asks Blacks to Rejoin Team," *The Sun News*, (September 9, 1989), 1A.

¹⁰⁸ Yolanda Jones and Sammy Fretawall, "Some Blacks Rejoin Conway Team," *The Sun News*, September 9, 1989, 1A.

¹⁰⁹ Yolanda Jones, "1,000 More Join NAACP's Weekly March," *The Sun News*, September 17, 1989.

Rivers also mentioned possibly boycotting and marching in Myrtle Beach. Also, the second march attracted South Carolina State Senator Kay Patterson, a Democrat from Columbia, who was the chairman of the South Carolina Black Caucus. Patterson marched and spoke to the protesters once they reached the School Board Office. Patterson stated, "I came here today because I heard there was a quarterback who said I am not going to get back. We want justice to roll down like the water and we have got to learn to keep on keeping on."¹¹⁰ Hunt's mother, Katherine Thomas, also spoke at this march. She informed the crowd, "Thank God for this shower because it helped us cool off and thank God for that gem of a man, Reverend Singleton who helped us to hold tight. Do not give up the faith, and we shall overcome."¹¹¹ After Thomas spoke, Singleton addressed the crowd. Among his remarks, he stated, "We welcome you back to Conway again. The reason you are back here is that the racists have not heard us, but we are here to tell them never again will racism and bigotry acts be the order of the day. Never, ever again."¹¹²

Subsequently, the marches and meetings continued into November. During the first few days of that month, Singleton's lawsuit and the injunction filed by the NAACP in September were heard by Judge Harry Herlong in Columbia, South Carolina. Little is known about Horry County Board of Education attorney, Bruce Davis. However, Nelson Rivers and William Gibson were instrumental in securing attorney Armand G. Derfner from Charleston to represent Singleton. Among the reasons NAACP officials selected

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 3D.

¹¹² Ibid.

Derfner was because he was Jewish and had personally experienced racial discrimination. Moreover, he had a track record of winning cases involving racial discrimination and had built a career on defending the so-called “underdog.”¹¹³

Attorneys Derfner and Bruce Davis presented their cases, and both attorneys expected Herlong to make a recommendation on Singleton’s filed injunction request and other pre-trial motions to United States District Court.¹¹⁴ In this court, Judge Clyde H. Hamilton presided. Singleton’s lawsuit requested his reinstatement as a science teacher, unspecified compensation, damages against the School Board, and punitive damages against Dawsey. The injunction filed in September was to prevent Dawsey and the Board from taking any further action against Singleton. In support of the injunction, Derfner argued that Singleton would be irreparably damaged if the Board fired him before the lawsuit is decided. The Board would destroy the right to free speech if it fired Singleton, and such a right could never be fully recovered, even if someday down the road “this court says the Board was wrong.”¹¹⁵ School Board attorney Bruce Davis countered by saying it would be counterproductive to put the Board’s hearing on hold when it is almost over.¹¹⁶ Clearly, the Board wanted to fire Singleton.

Immediately Davis asked the judge to remove Dawsey as a defendant in the lawsuit, arguing that he was acting in his official capacity and under legal advice when he suspended Singleton. Davis also pointed out that the suspension was warranted because

¹¹³ Jennifer B. Hawes, “Armand Derfner: Attorney’s Life Long Passion to Defend Underdog Has Taken Him to the Nation’s Highest Court,” November 16, 2002, p. 2 <http://www.charleston.net/> [accessed June 15, 2004].

¹¹⁴ Pat Butler, “Free Speech Called Issue Behind Conway Protest,” *The State*, November 10, 1989, 1A.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3B.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

of Singleton's poor judgment in holding the news conference and suggesting Jordan's replacing Hunt was racially motivated. Derfner argued that Dawsey must be included in the lawsuit because punitive damages could not be rendered from the School Board, but only from individuals.¹¹⁷ Therefore, Dawsey remained a part of the lawsuit.

The Horry County School Board met during the week of November 12, 1989 to decide whether they should terminate Singleton. At least eighty supporters were present at this hearing which took place in a nearly full conference room equipped to hold less than one hundred individuals. However, Board Chairman Henry Marlowe said he did not choose a larger site because he wanted to limit the chance of disruption.¹¹⁸ During this televised hearing, at least eighteen witnesses testified. Davis and the School Board attempted to bring in an expert witness from Lake City, South Carolina to testify in its case. This witness, Sylvester Madison, Ph.D., educator and assistant principal, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Florence Morning News* stating that Singleton was "totally wrong and that he agreed with the Superintendent's decision to suspend him." Fortunately, the School Board agreed with Singleton's attorney that Madison had already expressed his position and would not be an impartial witness."¹¹⁹

Conway High School graduate and former football player, Jeff Sherman, testified as a witness. He was very hostile towards Davis' questions concerning his relationship with Coach as Jordan. Sherman "swore" on the stand and swatted the air near Davis'

¹¹⁷ Rebecca Jones, "Singleton's Hearing Brings Out the Best, Worst in Folks," *The Sun News*, November 12, 1989, 1.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

shoulder as he was leaving the stand.¹²⁰ Moreover, Dawsey testified that he never turned to another person, with the exception of his attorney, in making a decision concerning Singleton. Dawsey further stated that he spent a great deal of time meditating on the situation and, after meeting with upset white parents, he decided to suspend Singleton. In his testimony, Jordan presented examples to disprove allegations that he was racist and that the quarterback switch was racially motivated. In his testimony, Jordan said he continued to help star lineman, Lawrence Mitchell, although he boycotted the team. Also he paid for Mitchell to take the Scholastic Aptitude Test (S.A.T.) and assisted him in setting an appointment with a doctor when Mitchell hurt his back during weight training. However, Katherine Hunt did not agree with much of Jordan's testimony. Also, she was asked to refrain from making comments. However, during Jordan's testimony, Ms. Hunt disrupted the hearing when she stood up in the audience and called Jordan a liar.¹²¹ Thereafter, the hearing continued without any other unpleasant events.

The Horry County School Board met on four occasions to determine Singleton's fate. According to the South Carolina Teacher Employment and Dismissal Act, the Board must make their decision within ten days of the hearing. Hence, the Board needed to make a decision on or before Monday, November 20, 1989. On November 18, 1989, NAACP leaders kept their promise of "Preaching at the Beach." National Director Benjamin Hooks, spoke supporting the striking football players and Singleton at the

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Rebecca James, "Board Fails to Reach a Decision on Singleton," *The Sun News*, November 12, 1989, 1A.

Myrtle Beach Convention Center.¹²² Interestingly, the Board arrived at the decision to terminate Singleton on November 19, 1989, just one day short of the deadline.

After Singleton's termination, the civil rights leader became more personally involved in the struggle for social equality in Horry County. Financially, Singleton relied on his modest salary as pastor at Cherry Hill Baptist Church and what he received from the increasing number of speaking engagements to support his family. Nevertheless, the boycott escalated Singleton from a virtually unknown grassroots leader to state and national acclaim.

The National Branch of the NAACP announced that it would plan a four-pronged civil rights effort in Horry County in December, 1989.¹²³ National Chairman, Dr. William F. Gibson, hoped that this effort would establish a standard of conduct in civil rights efforts utilizing all of the NAACP's resources. Moreover, Gibson met with the Reverend Jesse Jackson to discuss the planned march in Horry County. Gibson stated, "The other three main thrusts are political, economic, and educational."¹²⁴

Politically, Gibson suggested a comprehensive voter registration drive designed to send workers door-to-door in the African-American community to register unregistered citizens. The goal of the voter registration drive was to encourage more African Americans, elected or appointed, to vote, to defeat white office holders or candidates that were insensitive to African-American needs and concerns.¹²⁵

Economically, the NAACP's efforts included the creation of an Economic Enhancement

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Surratt Clark, "National Civil Rights Effort Planned in Horry County," *The State*, December 8, 1989, 1A.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 16A.

Committee that had the power to contact county businesses requesting meetings to discuss “fair share” programs. These programs were designed to increase the employment and promotion of African Americans as well as to provide contracts for African American owned and operated companies. In education, efforts included the creation of NAACP Freedom Schools, where African-American students would be tutored after school in regular academic subjects. Furthermore, students would be instructed in African-American history and taught the full meaning of the civil rights movement. Finally, Gibson pledged to lead a new civil rights movement in Horry County and stated, “I want to do something we can use as a model for the nation when it comes to civil rights activities.”¹²⁶

Further critical review of Singleton’s case also revealed other examples of hidden racism against African Americans in the Horry County school system. For instance, the Conway High School band director, Leslie McIver, was passed over for a promotion as the School District’s fine arts coordinator in favor of a white applicant. Although the Human Affairs Commissioner, James E. Clyburn found no examples of racism or discrimination regarding the Conway football boycott, Clyburn filed a legal brief on behalf of McIver. As a result of the investigation, it was concluded that McIver was more qualified than the white applicant who was given the position.¹²⁷ Clyburn’s conclusion in the McIver’s investigation appeared to have changed only after Clyburn received heavy criticism from Singleton, NAACP leaders and members of Horry County’s African-American community. However, Clyburn, in clarifying why he

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

reached his conclusion regarding the boycott, stated that he had been restrained by law from revealing pertinent facts concerning Hunt's case in Horry County. In addition, Clyburn and his entire staff were harshly criticized because they appeared not to be sympathetic with problems of African Americans.¹²⁸ In evaluating Clyburn's conclusions in the Conway Boycott and McIver cases, signs of discrimination were evident in Horry County. Hence, it can be concluded that persons in state government positions had some impact on Clyburn's findings in the Conway Boycott.

SINGLETON vs. THE HORRY COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION

Magistrate Judge Henry M. Herlong, Jr. was responsible for rendering Singleton's motion for summary judgment. Further, Singleton and the NAACP sought an injunction prohibiting the School Board from conducting a termination hearing based on state law. Subsequently, with the consent of both parties, Herlong filed an order on November 14, 1989, permitting the termination hearing to continue and obtaining terms for implementing the decision to terminate Singleton's employment while the case was pending. Singleton's primary complaint in his lawsuit was that his First Amendment rights had been violated. According to the First Amendment, "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."¹²⁹ Further, teachers and other school and public employees are not excluded from First Amendment protection, particularly when they speak out on matters of public concern and not speech

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1A.

¹²⁹ U.S. Constitution, amend. 1.

that is considered private. Significantly, the First Amendment grants individuals the right to associate with other people, to participate in political activities, and to present their grievances to government officials.

Accordingly, Singleton's and the other employees' precedents were found in landmark United States Supreme Court Cases, such as *Pickering v. Board of Education* (1968) and *Myers v. Connick* (1983) that established precedents regarding protected speech. The *Pickering* case involved the dismissal of a schoolteacher who wrote a letter to a newspaper editor regarding the proposed use of a pending tax increase by the School Board. The teacher believed that the tax increase did not seem proper. The court concluded that while the School Board might have been upset with this employee for not supporting the tax increase, the Board did not show any adverse impact on discipline or harmony at the school. Further, there was no problem in the relationship the teacher had with the principal or with other schoolteachers. As a result, the Court ruled that the teacher's speech was protected.¹³⁰ Hence, this case established an important precedent that maintains a person's interest must not be outweighed by the injury it could cause to the state as an employer, which is referred to today in jurisprudence as "The *Pickering* Balance." The court described this balance when it decreed that, "A state law has an interest as an employer in regulating the speech of its employees that differs significantly from those that it possessed in connection with the regulation of the speech of the citizenry in general, and where a public school teacher contends that his dismissal is violation of his constitutional right to free speech, it is necessary to arrive at a balance between the interest of the teacher, as a citizen, in commenting upon matters of public

¹³⁰ *Pickering v. Board of Education* 391 U.S.C. 63 (1968).

concern, and the interest of the state, as an employer, in promoting the efficiency of the public services that it performs through its employees.”¹³¹ Also, the impact of a person’s speech on the state or the employer should not be considered when it comes to the employee’s interest and speech will not be considered a matter of public concern if the speech is reckless or the statements were knowingly false.¹³²

Similarly, the *Myers v. Connick* (1983) case established a test for determining whether speech by a government employee may serve as a basis for discipline or discharging an employee when the speech is consistent with the First Amendment. This case involved Sheila Myers, an Assistant District Attorney in New Orleans, who worked under the supervision of District Attorney Harry Connick for more than five years. In October 1980, Myers was informed that she would be transferred to prosecute cases in a different section of the criminal court. She opposed the transfer and made it known to several of her supervisors including Connick. Eventually, Myers was transferred and discussed the matter again with a supervisor. Further, Myers prepared a questionnaire in response to the suggestion that her concerns were not shared by others in the office. The questionnaire was designed to solicit the views of her co-workers concerning office transfer policy, office morale, the need for a grievance committee, the level of confidence in supervisors, and whether employees felt pressured to work in political campaigns. Connick was notified of Myers’ actions. Subsequently, he officially notified Myers that she was terminated. His reason for firing her was because she did not take the transfer. In essence, it appeared that she was terminated because she distributed the survey, which

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

disrupted the office. In addition, Connick believed that Myers was insubordinate for not accepting the transfer. Myers subsequently filed a lawsuit maintaining that her employment was wrongfully terminated because she had exercised her constitutional rights of free speech.¹³³

After one year of litigation, the Court ruled in her favor, ordering that she be reinstated, awarded back pay, damages, and attorney's fees. Accordingly, the Court concluded that the questionnaire was the actual reason for Myers' termination and not her refusal to except the transfer. The Court also held that the questionnaire involved "matters of public concern and the State had not clearly demonstrated that it interfered with the District Attorney's Office."¹³⁴

Subsequently, Judge Herlong heard Singleton's case in Columbia, South Carolina on July 31, 1990. More than one-hundred and fifty of Singleton's supporters and State NAACP officials were present. Herlong listened for at least two and a half hours to opposing arguments. Both sides claimed that the other's case was so weak that a jury trial would not be needed and the judge could make the decision himself.¹³⁵ However, a large portion of the hearing was directed at Horry County School Board Attorney Bruce Davis. According to Davis, Superintendent John Dawsey suspended Singleton and later recommended his termination to the Board because he caused a disruption at Conway Middle School on the first day of school. Later, Davis pointed out that Singleton did not create the disturbance himself, but his televised comment provoked a large number of white parents to visit the school and demand that their children be removed from

¹³³ Connick v. Myers, 461 U.S.S.C. 138 (1983).

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Rebecca James, "Judge Hears Singleton, School Board," *The Sun News*, August 1, 1990, 4C.

Singleton's class. Further, Davis stated that the actions of the parents created a disruption that brought educational activity at the school to a halt. Therefore, Dawsey was forced to protect the education of all the school's children.¹³⁶ Herlong stated that the parental involvement made this case quite unique when compared to other free speech cases, and he challenged Davis' argument. He questioned whether Singleton should have been terminated because of the white parent protest at the school and would the Board have terminated him if the parents did not come to the school. Davis confirmed that Singleton would not have been terminated. Further, Herlong also noted that Singleton was never really given specific reasons for the School Board's decision and it lacked clarity.

Singleton's suspension letter included this statement:

I believe your actions in this matter (the boycott) are so lacking in loyalty, responsibility, judgment, honesty, and commitment to duty, and has generated such disruption and interference with the efficiency of school district operations that you have demonstrated incompetence to teach. Therefore, I will recommend to the Horry County Board of Education that your employment be terminated immediately for conduct manifesting an evident unfitness for teaching.¹³⁷

Relative to Dawsey's statement, Herlong replied, "I guess somebody in Kansas could read this and not know precisely what he did."¹³⁸ As a result of the lack of clarity in the School Board's argument, Herlong made it clear that he was not sure whether the School Board used a wrong reason or a constitutionally protected reason to terminate Singleton.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

The judge asked what would have happened if African-American parents disrupted Conway High School and refused to leave unless Coach Jordan was terminated.¹³⁹

Since Singleton's speech was the major reason for termination, the "heckler's veto" was discussed in the hearing. Harry Kalvan, Jr., a professor of law at the University of Chicago, first used the term "heckler's veto." During the civil rights era, Kalvan produced work and litigated cases that involved the heckler's veto. A heckler's veto is the suppression of speech by the government if the possibility of violence may occur.¹⁴⁰ Also, Kalvan used the term to discuss reactions to civil rights demonstrations opposing racial discrimination. Similarly, this veto was discussed because the School Board indicated that Singleton should be punished for causing the disruption at the school, and the will of protesting parents should outweigh Singleton's free speech rights. Moreover, the district stated that his speech should be constitutionally punishable because white parents found Singleton's remarks offensive. Nevertheless, Herlong did not allow the School Board to use the "heckler's veto" against Singleton's constitutionally protected right of freedom of speech.¹⁴¹ Conversely, Davis argued that Singleton's speech was not protected by the First Amendment because he made comments about incidents that he knew were not true and there was no alleged wrongdoing at that time. To reinforce his point, Davis also said that in several private meetings with Jordan during the boycott, Singleton informed Jordan that his decision was not racially motivated. Thus, Davis attempted to use the contradictions said in private and what was said to

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ "Horry County Awaits Judge's Ruling on Rev. Singleton," *The Horry Independent*, August 1, 1990, 1A.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

boycott supporters to illustrate that Singleton's statements were either knowingly or negligently false, which is not protected by the First Amendment. Furthermore, Davis stated that Singleton as a teacher put himself in a different position other than a citizen who might have exercised his or her freedom of speech. Again, Judge Herlong challenged Superintendent Davis' argument.¹⁴²

Moreover, major issues addressed by Herlong included whether or not Singleton's speech caused the white parents to take subsequent actions. Further, if a reasonable person had believed the things Singleton said, then what constitutes a matter of public concern? Conversely, Davis argued that Singleton's speech was not a matter of public concern. However, Herlong disagreed when he asserted that the reaction of the African-American players and their parents showed public concern. Conversely, Davis attempted to explain that he did not have a problem with whether or not Singleton's comments were appropriate or accurate, but were Singleton's comments a legitimate concern. To reinforce his argument, Davis stated that a coach's decision is not one of public concern but an internal matter. Further, for Singleton's comments to become a public concern, the comments must be a clear charge of wrongdoing.¹⁴³ However, Herlong was not convinced of any of Davis' arguments, particularly with his position on what is considered to be a matter of public concern. Herlong also considered Singleton's twenty years of teaching experience in the School District. Davis stated the district had "no questions about his caliber of performance."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Harry H. Singleton v. Horry County Board of Education.

¹⁴³ James, 1A.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Judge Herlong briefly questioned Singleton's attorney, Armand Derfner, who only intervened once when Davis presented the School Board's case. At that time, Derfner informed the judge that Singleton's speech was a matter of public concern and summarized the value of freedom of speech and how that right distinguishes the United States from other countries. Derfner also stated that the case was a perfect example of how attempting to silence people always makes things worse than if someone is allowed to go ahead and have his or her say.¹⁴⁵

After reviewing over one-thousand pages of testimony and briefs on the case and arguments presented at this hearing, Herlong could not find any justification for Singleton's termination by the School Board. However, he did not render a ruling or decision at this time".¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Singleton's supporters were very pleased at the outcome of the hearing, including Nelson Rivers. Rivers stated, "Without the judge making a decision from the bench, I do not think that his questioning could have gone any better."¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Derfner was also pleased with judge's questions. Derfner stated, "Everything I wanted to cover has been covered, but more so."¹⁴⁸ Attorney Bruce Davis and the Horry County School Board officials did not concede defeat but acknowledged that the results could have been better. As revealed, Herlong pressured Davis with his questioning throughout the hearing, and Davis admitted that the judge gave him a "tough

¹⁴⁵ Harry H. Singleton v. Horry County Board of Education.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ James, 3A.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

time.”¹⁴⁹ Moreover, the majority of the people who attended the hearing supported Singleton and had a strong feeling that he would indeed prevail.

Approximately two and a half weeks later, Herlong issued a twenty-page report which confirmed that the Horry County Board of Education did violate Singleton’s civil rights. Subsequently, Singleton was given a summary judgment and the case was referred to the United States District Court Judge, Clyde Hamilton, who had jurisdiction over the U.S. District Court and would make the final decision. What is important is that Hamilton was not obligated to render the same decision. Hamilton had the option of deciding for the School Board or of recommending that the case be sent to a trial jury. Further, Defner emphasized that Herlong’s recommendation did not address the issue of Singleton’s reinstatement as a public school teacher, and Hamilton could order the school system to place him in his original teaching position or not address the issue at all.¹⁵⁰

In a press conference held just days after Herlong announced his recommendations, Singleton stated that he wanted to be reinstated in his former position as teacher and nothing more. Singleton further stated that there was never any doubt in his mind that he would win the battle with the school because he was confident that he had not violated any school policy or law. He also asserted:

It is exciting and gratifying because it vindicates the guarantee that every citizen is entitled to speak out on controversial public issues without fear of punishment. When I spoke out on the issue of race in the football program, I was expressing that the views of many Black players’ parents

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 4C.

and other citizens of Conway. Judge Herlong has re-affirmed that free debate on issues like that is the life blood of our American society.¹⁵¹

Similarly, Singleton and his supporters assembled at his church and celebrated Herlong's decision. At least twenty-five supporters stood with him, held hands, and sang "We Shall Overcome" and gave thanks to God for allowing them to prevail this far in the U. S. District Court.¹⁵² After Herlong's announcement, Davis, Board members, and supporters expressed mixed emotions. Davis stated that if Judge Clyde Hamilton ruled in Singleton's favor, the Board would appeal the decision to the Court of Appeals. Coach Chuck Jordan indicated that he was tired of the situation and ready for it to end. He stated, "We have to begin to stand up like a School Board and make individual decisions and try to do what is in the best interest of the children of Horry County, to try to restore some harmony and a good learning environment for those children. It is time to get over the upheaval."¹⁵³ Board member Richard Heath also expressed his concern about the functions of the schools and children. Heath, the only Board member who voted against Singleton's termination, was concerned with how the timing of the ruling would affect the opening of school that year. Heath stated,

I think what we have here is a window of opportunity before the judge's final ruling to lay this incident to rest, to move forward as a community, to recognize that both sides could fight this forever in court, but in the end, the children will not win. This board needs to be thinking in terms of what

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., 1A.

¹⁵³ Kathy Rupp, "Singleton Supporters Jubilant," *The Horry County Independent*, August 22, 1990, 1A.

is best for the children of Horry County, and that is where its focus should be.¹⁵⁴

Similarly, other School Board members made a number of interesting points after Herlong's decision. For example, Dorothy Chandler stated that she was confused about the entire issue. She stated her initial reason for voting to terminate Singleton was inconsistent with Davis' argument in the hearing. Further, she asserted that she did not vote to fire Singleton because of the disruption at the school. Her main reason was that while he had the right to speak his opinion, he did not have the right to ruin a person's career. Also, Chandler believed that Singleton's statements and the root of the boycott itself portrayed Chuck Jordan as a racist. She further stated, "Right now Jordan has to prove himself again to every one of these boys on the field and to their parents and that is not fair." In addition, Chandler stated that if the judge orders the Board to return Singleton to his teaching position, then I will accept that.¹⁵⁵

Due to the heated tension created by the incident for at least a year, the assumption is that the majority of whites in Horry County felt the same as Mrs. Chandler. This incident received national media coverage and most whites in South Carolina may have been sympathetic to Jordan and the Horry County School Board because Singleton continued to receive obscene phone calls.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, Mary Ann Kirk, a white registered nurse in Conway, member of Cherry Hill Baptist Church, and the Executive Committee of the Conway Branch of the NAACP, recalled how frightened she became when a truck filled with angry whites rode by Singleton's church during a meeting

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 4C.

regarding the football boycott and constantly yelled “Burn Nigger!”¹⁵⁷ This incident was among many that illustrated the racial tension in Horry County after Singleton’s first hearing.

On March 28, 1991, Judge Hamilton submitted a fifty-page opinion on Singleton’s case. In his opinion, Hamilton agreed with Herlong’s finding that Singleton’s First Amendment rights had been violated and he was wrongfully terminated by the Horry County School Board. First, Hamilton explained that it was established in the past through court cases that public employees, such as teachers, do not lose their First Amendment protection because they accept public employment. To support this, he cited, *Tinker v. Des Moines Community School District*, 393 U. S. 503, 506, 89 S. Ct. 733 (1969). Hamilton also asserted that the court recognized the special interest of the government to ensure that such speech would not disrupt the work place in any form or fashion.¹⁵⁸ [*Piver v. Pender County Board* (1987)]

In the Piver case, the court is required to follow two steps. First, the court must determine whether the speech impinges on a matter of public concern. Second, if the first step is met, then the court must determine whether the employee’s right to free speech outweighs the government or employer’s interest in maintaining an efficient work place.¹⁵⁹ Hamilton also inquired whether the employee would have been discharged if his or her free speech protection was not a factor. This inquiry emerged from the Supreme

¹⁵⁷ Mary Ann Kirk, *Letter to Dr. Albert Smith*, President of South Carolina State University. A Letter of Recommendation on Behalf of Rev. H. H. Singleton, II for an Honorary Doctorate Degree of Humanities, December 20, 1991, 1.

¹⁵⁸ *Harry H. Singleton v. Horry County Board of Education*. U.S.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Court's opinion in *Mt. Healthy City School District v. Doyle* (1977). Accordingly, the employee bears the burden of demonstrating that protected speech is a motivating factor in the discharge. The burden of proof then shifts to the government or employer to show that the court would have reached the same decision even in the absence of the protected conduct.¹⁶⁰ Singleton was terminated for his vocal support of the football players and the boycott that occurred as a result of his subsequent support. Singleton's teaching performance was not cited as grounds in his suspension letter, in the termination hearing, or before the court. The School Board based its decision solely on Singleton's televised press conference on August 22, 1989.

As far as Singleton's speech, Hamilton cited the case, *Givhan v. Western Line Consolidate School District* (1979), whereby the United States Supreme Court upheld that a teacher's speech addressing racial discrimination is indeed a matter inherently of public concern. Hamilton further reinforced this point by writing that the form and context of Singleton's speech addressed a matter of public concern. Hamilton also referred to the record that reflected Singleton's initial involvement in the situation that was initiated with an anonymous phone call received in the summer of 1989. The caller suggested that racial discrimination may have played a part in Coach Jordan's decision to replace Hunt. Moreover, Hamilton noted from mid-August to Singleton's televised announcement, the controversy was widely discussed in the African-American community that included the possibility of racial discrimination. Further, in his capacity as president of the Conway branch of the NAACP, Singleton made known the factors that

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

influenced the football players' decision to boycott.¹⁶¹ Further, Hamilton also compared this case with *Connick v. Myers* (1983), which sets precedents on matters of public concern. Hamilton asserted that the form and context of Singleton's televised speech was distinguishable from speech found unprotected in the Myers case. He emphasized that most of the questions asked in the memo were "mere extensions of Myers' dispute over her transfer" and served no purpose other than to gain ammunition for another round of controversy with her superiors.¹⁶² Although Myers' action seemed to be personal and unprotected, the court still ruled in her favor because the questions she posed were indeed a matter of public concern. Similarly, Hamilton wrote that Singleton's speech was not an extension of a personal dispute as seen in the Myers' case. Singleton and Jordan barely knew each other and worked in different buildings. Further, Singleton's speech was not an extension of a dispute with his supervisors in the school or with Superintendent Dawsey over Singleton's teaching abilities. More importantly, the judge pointed out that Singleton had nothing to gain by speaking out about potential racism in the Conway High School football program.¹⁶³

Hamilton also challenged at least two arguments presented by the School Board. One of the arguments was that Singleton's speech was not a matter of public concern because it was false, and Singleton knew it was false and made the statements about racism in the football program with a reckless disregard of truth or falsehood. Similar to Judge Herlong, Hamilton found the Board's defense questionable. Second, after citing related cases, Hamilton concluded, regardless of the ultimate truth or falsehood of

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Singleton's allegations as spokesman for the boycotting players, the August 22, 1989 speech addressed a matter of public concern when it raised the possibility that race played a role in the Jordan's decision to switch Hunt. Hamilton also added, "Even if the court could inquire into the truth or falsity of Singleton's announcement, and finding it false and questioned whether or not he spoke with actual malice, his speech would still be protected by the First Amendment."¹⁶⁴

Hamilton also explained what was necessary for Singleton's speech to be unprotected. He emphasized that Singleton's remarks must be spoken with actual or constitutional malice and knowing they were false or with reckless disregard of their truth or falsity and assuming Singleton's racism charge was false, the School Board failed to present evidence in the record which would illustrate that Singleton spoke with actual malice. To reinforce this point, the judge cited the case of *St. Amant v. Thompson* (1968) which stated malice must be established by "clear and convincing evidence."¹⁶⁵ Hence, Hamilton found no evidence of actual malice on Singleton's part.

The School Board argued that Singleton could have investigated more thoroughly before speaking, such as interviewing the African-American coaches on the football staff. For example, in affidavits, James Thompson and Joe Hudson stated that they supported the quarterback switch and the change was not racially motivated. Hamilton agreed with this point and chastised Singleton by writing, "Singleton could have also attempted to limit media exposure and a more restrained approach might have led to a quicker

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

resolution of the controversy.”¹⁶⁶ However, Singleton’s conduct in this situation is quite normal because anyone who knows him may conclude that he is very outspoken, loud, intimidating in some instances, and somewhat arrogant. Moreover, some consider these traits to be a positive virtue in a confident person and a person’s conduct is irrelevant. Hamilton supported this point by writing, “For better or worse, the protection of the First Amendment extends to the tactful and not so tactful, those who temper their reactions, and those who may overreact.”¹⁶⁷

Regarding to the School Board’s position, Hamilton wrote the School District was not justified by any countervailing state’s interest, particularly buying peace with irate parents and students, in suspending and terminating Singleton. Thus, Hamilton granted summary judgment in favor of Singleton’s First Amendment claim and denied the School Board’s motion based on the findings in the case. Further, Hamilton hoped Singleton and the Board had learned something from the case and gave both sides something to think about when he wrote, “The cultural values the schools teach or should teach are proper respect for differing views and the importance of rational discourse on confronting problems in our society.”¹⁶⁸

Subsequently, the case was referred back to Judge Herlong to determine the appropriate type of compensation Singleton should receive. Similarly, the aftermath of Hamilton’s decision was much like what took place after Herlong’s decision approximately a year earlier. However, a major difference was that the School Board had

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

to accept defeat and some members had hoped that this would be the end. For example, Board member Mary Jane Duke said, "We knew it was coming. So let's take care of it and get on with teaching the children."¹⁶⁹ Further, the Board may have been embarrassed concerning the outcome of the case because it received stern criticisms in the *Myrtle Beach Sun News* editorials. Many editorials alluded to the fact that the incident caused racial tension in Horry County that had not been observed in the recent history of the county. Additionally, in an editorial published on April 3, 1991, the editors and *Sun News* publishers reiterated that the School Board should make every effort to work with Singleton and the courts. Further, the Board had lost the case and should avoid other failures by reaching an agreement, not appealing the case or waiting for Herlong to recommend compensation. Finally, the editorial made it clear that "this is an opportunity for both Singleton and the School Board administration to instruct their students in civics, racial understanding, free speech, truth and doing what is right."¹⁷⁰

School Board members also believed attorney Davis and Superintendent Dawsey led the School Board members on from the beginning because they were convinced that they had a clear cut case against Singleton's actions and his suspension and dismissal could not be defended. An example of the Board members severe dissatisfaction with Davis and Dawsey can be seen in the remarks of Dr. James Dunn, shortly after Hamilton's decision. Dunn stated that the School District had wasted one and a half years chasing an issue that had only served to divide Conway's African-American and white communities. Further, Dunn said, "I do not think Dawsey handled this matter

¹⁶⁹ Andrew Shain, "Judge Rules for Singleton," *The Charlotte Observer*, April 2, 1991, 5A.

¹⁷⁰ "Settle Singleton Case Very Quickly," Editorial, *The Sun News*, April 3, 1991, 1A.

professionally. I think Dawsey was responsible for putting this Board in the impossible position of having almost all African Americans mad at us if we ruled one way, and almost all whites mad at us if we ruled another way.”¹⁷¹

During the week of April 18, 1991, the Horry County School Board met at its regular scheduled meeting. The decision to appeal Hamilton’s findings was the first piece of business on the agenda. Richard Heath, Republican from Murrells Inlet, made a motion that the Board should not appeal the judge’s decision. Dr. Dunn seconded the motion. Subsequently, the motion passed by a vote of 9-2. Board members Sandra Padgett and Irvin Anderson, Jr. opposed the motion and Patti Hilton abstained. Richard Jordan said the Board would later discuss what compensation Singleton would receive.¹⁷²

What may have been considered a step in repairing the wounds inflicted in race relations in Horry County possibly lay in the fact that the courts did not have to decide compensation due to Singleton after his two-year ordeal that practically destroyed what was perceived to be good interracial cooperation between the races. Davis and Defner reached a settlement. The settlement included that Singleton return to his job with \$61,953 in back pay payments that he would have earned in medical insurance and interest. Additionally, Singleton received \$56,000 for attorney’s fees and \$6,000 in court costs.¹⁷³ He could have received compensation for mental anguish and other emotional grievances. However, Singleton said he did not sue the School Board to become wealthy. Pertaining to the Board on the settlement, attorney Davis said “It is very much in line with what a court would have ordered had we not been able to reach an agreement.”

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Shain, 5A.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

School Board chairman, Richard Jordan, said the district had no choice. “We have lost the case twice, he won the case, and it is the way it had to be.”¹⁷⁴

Singleton did not attend the Board meeting and, after hearing the decision, congratulated the Board on its decision and stated, “It shows a sense of sensitivity with reference to all people of all ethnic groups.” Singleton also stated, “It sends a message that there is hope of remedy in our judicial system when one’s First Amendment rights or any other rights are violated.”¹⁷⁵ Moreover, Singleton’s settlement did not cost taxpayers because the Board’s insurance covered Singleton’s back pay and attorney’s fees.¹⁷⁶

By July 1991, Singleton did not exactly know when he would enter the classroom, what subjects he would teach or at what location. According to Singleton in an interview, it would be Dawsey’s decision and there would be no mention of the conflict or politics in his classroom. Also, Singleton stated, “I have one-hundred and eighty days to teach, and we do not have time to waste any of those days.” Most importantly, Singleton also faced the possibility that further racial strife could occur upon his return to school. Singleton stated:

I have never been fearful of protests or any person protesting. I would advise those persons with some notion not to allow ignorance and bigotry to interrupt an educational process that they should have learned a lesson from the court decision. Ignorance and bigotry cannot prevail where there is committed leadership.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Christine L. Kwauss, “Education Board Won’t Appeal Judge’s Decision in Singleton’s Case,” *The Sun News*, April 18, 1991, 1A.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

On Monday, August 26, 1991, Reverend Singleton returned to his original place of employment at Conway Middle School without any major problems. However, there were some white parents present that requested that their children be reassigned to other teachers. Conway Middle School principal, Dr. Gilbert Stefanides, accommodated these parents and by the end of the school day, fifteen students had been transferred from Singleton's classes.¹⁷⁸ Among these parents was Shelley Simmons. Simmons had her son removed and explained, "I do not have anything against Singleton, but there is just trouble wherever he is. I do not want my son involved in what goes on. He needs to study this year."¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the school day went smooth and the staff meeting after school went extremely well. Singleton stated that his only concern was would the students be in a receptive mood. However, the first day of school did attract one protester. James Kester from Columbia, South Carolina protested outside of the school against Singleton. Kester stated, "African Americans had a lot of people coming from out-of-town and out-of-state to march with the NAACP here. So I came from Columbia to march."¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the African-American community anticipated some degree of protest that morning and three African-American parents were present and observed the lone protester. Further, one African-American parent stated she was only present because she was concerned about her child's well-being and safety not Singleton's return.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Christi Edge and Shain Anderson, "Singleton Gets School Job Back," *The State*, July 13, 1991, 1A.

¹⁷⁹ Christine L. Kwauss, "Singleton Ready to Return to the Classroom," *The Sun News*, July 20, 1991, 1A.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3C.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

RACIAL CONSEQUENCES AFTER THE CONWAY HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL BOYCOTT

Two and a half years after Singleton led the football boycott, residents assessed the progress of Horry County in reaching racial equality in education, employment, and political arenas. The February 16, 1992 *Sun News* article, "How Far Have We Come?" indicated that several strides in race relations had occurred in the county:

1. An interracial organization known as the "People to People Forum" was established with approximately 200 people;
2. Horry County Human Relations Council was created to mediate racial disputes;
3. Two Habitats for Humanity homes were built by African Americans and Whites;
4. Two successful Coastal Carolina College forums for educators on the topic of "Healing the Wounds of Racism" drew more than 350 people; and
5. The NAACP initiated a Fair Share Agreement to employ more minorities. This agreement was signed by the Myrtle Beach Hotel/Motel Association and the *Sun News*.¹⁸²

However, mixed emotions were apparent regarding racial progress in Horry County. According to Conway resident Covell Moore, a greater awareness in the community and the work force had been created. To further reinforce his point, Moore stated:

¹⁸¹ Marlissa Huff and Dewanna Lofton, "How Far Have We Come?", *The Sun News*, February 16, 1992, 1A.

A lot of us feel that in order to help do things, there has to be thunder and lightning and we must have a Ph. D. to make changes; but it's the every day people who make things work. It is everybody's fault when you have racial problems. Nobody is immune or absolved from that responsibility.¹⁸³

Further, Conway's attorney Richard Lovelace and Ginny Kintz, an educator and conference coordinator, also believed that some progress had been made since the football boycott. Kintz noted that since the 1991 educators' conference, feedback surveys conducted at the Coastal Carolina College revealed that specific policy and attitude changes were evident.¹⁸⁴ Walter Stanish, a local bank president, asserted that since Singleton's incident in 1989, some progress had been made and the boycott indeed heightened the awareness of the business community in Horry County and the inequalities that existed between the races. Stanish also stated:

With a relatively small population of African Americans, we do not think about racial issues as often as we should. The business community was aware of the need to have racial diversity in their work force since the boycott, but did not believe it would happen overnight. My hope for Horry County is that all races will be represented with equity in all levels of decision-making in the country. There comes a time when we do not have to measure it; that is done by a matter of race and not by programs like affirmative action. My hope is that the most qualified people are hired, elected, appointed, and promoted.¹⁸⁵

Similarly, Adalia Ellis, a Horry County native and a member of the Baha'i religion that encourages interracial cooperation between the races, concurred with

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 3A.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

Standish when she stated, “So what if we don’t get an overnight perfect thing. At least we (Horry County residents) are working on it.”¹⁸⁶

Many Horry County residents also believed that race relations would improve through the efforts of their children and future generations. For example, Conway Middle School African-American assistant principal Majorie McIver stated that some students wanted to start a club designed to improve race relations after attending a “Calling of All Colors Conference.”¹⁸⁷ Further, other schools organized biracial clubs and sent students on field trips to hear speakers such as Dr. Martin Luther King’s daughter, Reverend Bernice King. King spoke to a group of interracial students at Litchfield Beach on January 30, 1992 on the impact of racial strife on their lives and what they could do to make race relations better in their schools and communities. Obviously, the impact of these events seemed to have positively motivated some students, including Stephen Garrett, a twelve-year-old, who assisted with the conference where Reverend Bernice King spoke. Bernice stated that all of the students who attended made pledges to improve their attitudes toward people of different races and African Americans and whites were interacting more on a daily basis. Although Garrett vaguely recalled Singleton and the Conway High School football boycott, he pondered why African Americans and whites would march and protest. He stated, “It was just kind of all crazy with the Ku Klux Klan marches that followed. I didn’t like that. It scared me.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Chondra McLean, “Race Relations Have Improved As Tally of Minorities Grows,” *The Sun News*, March 26, 2001, 1A.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

In 1991, Conway residents hosted a National Student Council Convention that had over fifteen hundred students representing fifty states and six foreign countries. Also the Conway community provided lodging for these students in their homes. As a result of this, Conway City Councilman Irby Koon, who is also a retired Conway High School teacher, believed that this provided proof that race relations had improved. Koon stated, "You didn't know the race of any kid coming into your home, and it didn't make any difference. Color was of no concern, and that spoke well of the community. It was as much a positive factor as you could have brought into a small town at that time."¹⁸⁹ Reflecting on the football boycott, Koon stated, "I don't think it [the boycott] did any irreparable harm or long term benefit for anybody concerned...I think everybody lost. When we start tearing holes in the body of Conway, it weakened the strength of the community overall."¹⁹⁰

Looking back on the boycott, there was the realization that interracial cooperation was essential to Horry County. Approximately one month after Singleton made his televised 1989 press conference, Hurricane Hugo struck Myrtle Beach. It was one of the most devastating hurricanes since Hurricane Hazel in 1954. Moreover, Hugo left seven million dollars in damages, fifty-seven deaths in the United States mainland, and twenty-nine fatalities in the U. S. Virgin Islands.¹⁶⁰ Even in the wake of the Hugo disaster, some felt that it should have succeeded in bringing the races together despite the racial tension produced by the boycott. And to some degree, it did because over 3,600 residents, both African Americans and whites gathered to use Conway High School as shelter during the

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Isaac J. Bailey, "Impact Unclear: Some Hope City Learned Lesson," *The Sun News*, August 22, 1999, 1A.

hurricane and worked together to clean up the area.¹⁹¹ Michael Burgess, who is African-American, commented positively on this example of interracial cooperation, when he stated:

The boycott managed to pull out a lot of differences that lay just beneath the surface. Then Hugo struck and showed not only that we could work together, but needed to work together. We couldn't afford to see each other as simply black or white...I hope we learned not to be slaves to our emotions...I cannot imagine that we are so stupid to have gone through this [the boycott] once that we would do it again.¹⁹²

Despite this progress, Singleton did not see any substantial change in race relations in Horry County in 1992. Similarly, Myrtle Beach NAACP Branch president, Mickey Strothers, felt the same. Strothers commented:

We have made very little progress. We are not any closer than we were two years ago. The rhetoric has changed but there is no big attempt to bring the races together in this county. For every positive step forward, there are two negative steps backward.¹⁹³

Singleton and Strothers based their attitudes on incidents that occurred in 1992, such as official misconduct charges brought against Ralph Vaught, Director of the J. Reuben Long Detention Center in Conway, South Carolina. Singleton believed that the accusations were racially motivated because Vaught was among the few African Americans who held positions in the county during that time. After a trial, Vaught was

¹⁹¹ "Hurricane Hugo - September 22, 1989," <http://www.geocities.com/hurricanehugo.htm> [accessed November 3, 2006].

¹⁹² Bailey, Impact Unclear.

¹⁹³ Huff and Lofton, 1A.

found not guilty by a jury that deliberated for only ninety minutes. In the concluding remarks, the judge concluded that the case should never have come to trial.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, the African-American community suggested racial overtones concerning the consideration of an African-American Georgian as a candidate for Myrtle Beach City Police Chief's position. Rumors circulated that whites threatened Myrtle Beach Mayor Bob Grissom's position if he employed an African American. Grissom denied such rumors but reiterated that, "The Myrtle Beach community was not ready for a black police chief."¹⁹⁵

Another incident in January 1992 reinforced Singleton's belief that few changes had occurred in race relations. Horry County City Council decided to contract the maintenance of county vehicles to a New Jersey firm. The county garage only employed thirteen employees who were supervised by an African American. Singleton and the Conway Branch of the NAACP alleged that contracting the work out was racially motivated because the department head was African-American. Consequently, Singleton demanded that the City Council rescind the contract. Singleton and the NAACP organized marches in protest with signs that read, "No Justice, No Peace" and "Tax \$\$ for Horry, not New Jersey." Further, Singleton's allegations generated intense debates, and most whites in the county did not embrace his position. For example, Dewey Kirkley, a Democrat from Myrtle Beach, said:

I do not know if Mr. Singleton has taken over county government or not. As long as I am on the council, I will not be dictated to or by Singleton.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 65.

We are not under a dictator form of government. The truth is what will stop a mess such as this.”¹⁹⁶

In response to Kirkley’s statement, Singleton replied, “Nobody dictates to the NAACP when it challenges an issue.”¹⁹⁷

Politically, Singleton admitted that changes had occurred because African Americans were elected or appointed to positions that had not been available to them prior to the boycott. An example is the election of attorney Ralph Wilson as the county’s first African-American solicitor. In contrast, Singleton believed that this caliber of evidence did not substantially change the attitude of whites in Horry County. Further, Singleton commented, “This kind of physical evidence is the result of an effort to placate a demand for change.”¹⁹⁸ Additionally, Singleton believed that there had really been no specific change because of the positive reception Republican Presidential candidate and former Ku Klux Klan grand wizard, David Duke, received in Myrtle Beach in January 1992 while speaking at the Myrtle Beach Convention Center. Moreover, Duke asserted that Horry County was one of the most receptive audiences.¹⁹⁹

Inspired by these occurrences and his belief that there was no significant improvement in race relations in Horry County, Singleton endeavored to seek out and attack examples of hidden racism and racial prejudice, not only in South Carolina, but throughout the country.

¹⁹⁶ McLean, 1A.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

SINGLETON'S INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL RIGHTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

In 1996, Singleton was elected the national NAACP's southeast region representative. His region encompassed North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Tennessee.¹ Hence, his promotion forced him into the struggle to correct examples of hidden racism throughout South Carolina, as well as the other states that were a part of his region. At that time, the removal of the Confederate flag became a major issue.

Since the Civil War, the Confederate flag has been an integral part of the history and heritage of southern whites. Today, many white southerners take pride in displaying this flag in their homes, on vehicles, schools, and even government buildings in most southern states. Furthermore, white southerners express their loyalty to this symbol and what it represents. Historically, South Carolina's state politicians also embraced the symbol in the 1940s. For instance, South Carolina Senator J. Strom Thurmond acquired a renewed sense of Confederate nationalism and frequently displayed the flag during his 1948 Dixiecrat campaign.² By the 1950s, the flag was displayed at many college sport events in the south. Similarly, in 1952, the University of Mississippi presented the

¹ Dr. Harry Henry Singleton, III, Interview by author, January 15, 2007.

² W. Scott Poole, *Decently and in Order: Confederate Memory and Class Welfare During South Carolina's Freedom Struggle, 1961-1965* (College of Charleston), 4.

“World’s Largest Confederate Flag.” W. Scott Poole, an Assistant Professor of History at the College of Charleston, stated that the commercial demand for the Confederate flag grew exponentially in the early 1950s. The timing of this rise in demand suggests it had become nothing more than a fad. Poole also asserted that both the commercial demand and public display of the flag peaked in 1954. Hence, one may ask if this increase is attributed to the *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision that occurred in 1954.³

Personal observations of the educational and socioeconomic status of white South Carolinians openly displaying the flag, inspired Poole to write that a number of scholars were cognizant of South Carolina’s racial caste system that was described as “aristocratic racism, since it asserted the rule of some white men over all other men, and not simply all white men over African Americans.”⁴ Poole described a dilemma between upper class and lower class whites, when he wrote:

In the twentieth century, South Carolina experienced a number of revolts against this system, especially as the textile revolution shaped a white proletariat in the Palmetto State (South Carolina) led by men like Senator Olin D. Johnson, himself a former textile worker in hardscrabble Spartanburg County, and John D. Long, a state representative from Union County, South Carolina’s working class, faced the post-war years with rising expectations organically combined with rising anxiety about the pace of change. More prosperous than the pre-war generation, holding more political capital than, they (common whites) had ever held in the states long history, they remained locked in manufacturing jobs with artificially low wages, fearful of growing African-American political power.⁵

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁵ Ibid.

Poole also pointed out that these lower class whites joined the Klu Klux Klan and caused violence against other whites, including the bombing of Claudia T. Sanders' home (a white woman), because of her support of civil rights. Poole referred to these whites as "rednecks." He also notes that historian Bruce Schulman referred to these whites as "common whites" who lived in the shadows of the Sunbelt and demonstrated racial animosity by displaying the symbol. Hence, such behavior disturbed liberal whites and angered African Americans.⁶

By the early 1960s, an increasing number of elite whites also embraced the Confederate flag. To commemorate the Civil War centennial in 1962, South Carolina raised the flag above the State House in Columbia. At that time, critics maintained that this act was done to defy the civil rights movement and the federal order to desegregate the schools and public facilities. According to Poole, State Representative John May is responsible for introducing the resolution to display the flag atop the State House.⁷ Similarly, other states, such as Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia, have displayed the Confederate flag over their State Houses for decades. For example, the Georgia flag, which included the Confederate flag in its design, was used as the official state flag from 1956 through 2003. Although the Georgia flag was altered to exclude the Confederate flag, most Georgians still did not accept the decision for its alterations. Moreover, this change affected political leaders who supported the removal of the flag from the state capitol building. In 1992, Georgia Governor Zell Miller opposed the Confederate emblem

⁶ Ibid., 3.

⁷ Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knott, "Beyond Dixie: Race, Region, and Support for the South Carolina Flag," Western Carolina University, <http://www.wcu.edu/1443.asp> [accessed February 2, 2007].

on the state flag and his opposition nearly cost him his job. In 2002, sources indicate that Governor Roy Barnes lost his re-election bid in part due to his support for a bill that would reduce the size of the Confederate emblem on the state flag. Also, Alabama removed the Confederate emblem only after a state judge ruled it was a violation of state law in 1993. Conversely, the Mississippi legislature voted to keep their current state flag by a 65 to 35 margin.⁸

While most white South Carolinians were persistent in retaining the flag, the state legislature initiated its removal despite the fact that most white South Carolinians harbored resentment. An example of white liberal support can be seen when South Carolina's Republican Party aligned with business leaders and the State Chamber of Commerce to remove the flag. Further, many emblems included signs such as "Dump David Beasley", South Carolina's Governor who supported the removal of the flag in 1993.⁹ Conversely, several African-American leaders viewed their allies with suspicion and distrust. Moreover, a historical understanding of white elite hypocrisy on the flag debate led many to recall a comment made by South Carolina civil rights leader, Modjeska Simpkins, who once stated, "Leave that damn rag up there; it keeps things in perspective. . . I would rather see the Klan in sheets than in suits."¹⁰

Further, in early 1999, the South Carolina State Senate attempted to reach a compromise with NAACP leaders. The senate debated a proposal that would transport the flag to a nearby Confederate memorial site and erect a monument honoring the

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁰ Poole, 13.

contributions of African-American South Carolinians. Unfortunately, the proposal died in the House. However, the proposal for an African-American history monument did survive and the construction of the monument began in the fall of 1999 supervised by state senator Glenn McConnell, a republican from Charleston who supported maintaining the flag.¹¹ Apparently, McConnell was willing to compromise and satisfy everyone. Although other organizations, such as the South Carolina Chamber of Commerce, the Baptist Convention, and Bob Jones University, which have illustrated a history of racism, supported the removal of the flag. Hence, Singleton and Nelson Rivers believed the flag was a symbol of oppression and slavery and represented the largest symbol of abuse concerning African Americans. Rivers stated, "What the flag says in modern day is, we have told you for years it offends us, yet you continue to fly it, and that shows you hold us in disregard and much disdain."¹² Singleton and the NAACP threatened to initiate a boycott against South Carolina's tourism industry until legislators voted to remove the symbol from the State House.¹³ Further, NAACP leaders compared this boycott to the economic sanctions of the 1980s that assisted in ending apartheid in South Africa and the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott that launched the Civil Rights movement in 1955.¹⁴

South Carolina's tourism industry presented itself as a strategic target for Singleton and other NAACP leaders because the development and growth of Myrtle Beach, other Grand Strand beaches and those located in the Charleston area, tourism had

¹¹ CBS News, "South Carolina Governor Signs Flag Law," <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2000/05-23national.main/198649/shtml> [accessed October 28, 2000].

¹² Ibid., 2.

¹³ Ibid., 1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

become South Carolina's leading industry by this time. According to the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, the industry attracts some 28.5 million visitors a year and brings to the state 14.5 billion dollars in revenue each year. Further, Grand Strand beaches account for 2.1 million visitors who spend an estimated 280 million dollars a year.¹⁵

White supporters of the flag were straightforward and succinctly expressed their position and anger against organizations, such as the NAACP, for attempting to interfere with their history and heritage. For example, Lancaster, South Carolina resident George Bragdon stated:

The people of South Carolina have the right to choose what flags they want to fly. No one from any other state can tell us what to do. I would like to remind the NAACP that the South was willing to go to war to protect the state's rights, and we are still stubborn enough not to give in to this boycott.¹⁶

Similarly, white state legislators also voiced their cultural position concerning the flag.

State senator McConnell stated,

Those of us in the historic movements are offended by the disrespectful rhetoric about the flag's foes. We are offended by their attempt to give it to the Ku Klux Klan since the flag represented the feelings of stereotypical white southerners. We call it hatish. It is a campaign against southern historical culture.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid., 1-2.

¹⁶ Icon May Fly No More, *The State*, November 13, 1999, 1.

¹⁷ "Flag Boycott Impacting South Carolina," *The State*, February 28, 2000, 3.

Further, McConnell did not think the boycott would have any significant effect on the state's economy and the flag would never be removed. In response to his statement, Nelson Rivers replied:

Never is a relative thing. In South Carolina, they had better be careful. They said we would never have school desegregation. They said African Americans would never go to Clemson University. They said the south would never lose the Civil War.¹⁸

On January 17, 2000, thousands gathered in Columbia, South Carolina to honor the birthday and legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and to demand of lawmakers remove the flag. The gathering was organized by the NAACP, the National Urban League, and more than seventy-five other civil rights leaders. Martin Luther King, III spoke at the University of South Carolina during a prayer breakfast. Speaking on the flag controversy, King stated:

This is the kind of thing we need to be doing on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday. The flag is a symbol that brings a lot of negative energy. And while we believe the flag has an appropriate place, it just does not belong on top of the Capitol because it is not a sign of unification.¹⁹

Other leaders, such as the NAACP's President Kweisi Mfume and the National Urban League's Hugh Price, organized a march to the State House that day. The group walked six blocks singing, "The flag is coming down," as they waved American flags. Again, these marchers vowed to boycott South Carolina's tourist industry until the flag

¹⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹⁹ March Against Confederate Flag, *The State*, January 17, 2000.

was removed.²⁰ Also, South Carolina Governor, Jim Hodges, spoke at a Dr. King Day Celebration. Hodges became governor in 1998 and supported the removal of the flag. Further, he voted twice as a state representative for its removal. However, he did not attend the NAACP rally where Martin Luther King, III spoke. According to the governor's spokesperson Nina Brook, "The governor wanted to be a mediator, a person who helped folks come together on the flag issue. Therefore, it was not appropriate for him to participate in events that were portrayed as either anti-flag or pro-flag."²¹

After the King Holiday gathering, the South Carolina State Legislature immediately commenced a debate regarding the removal of the flag. Furthermore, the NAACP boycott intensified the need for the lawmakers to quickly address the issue. As early as December 1999, many organizations abruptly canceled plans to hold conventions in the state for 2000. These organizations included the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), whose annual convention would have produced hundreds of thousands of dollars in revenue for the state, the National Urban League, African Methodist Episcopal churches, and the United Negro College Fund. Further, white organizations also decided to move their scheduled functions in 2000, such as the American Chemical Society Division of Polymer Chemistry. The NAACP boycott troubled Dr. Joseph M. DeSimone, a professor of chemistry at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who accepted an invitation to speak at the workshop scheduled to be held in Charleston, South Carolina. DeSimone stated, "I have a very diverse group of graduate students and I want to have everyone feel comfortable about participating in

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

this meeting.”²² Hence, DeSimone put in writing to Dennis W. Smith, Jr., an assistant professor of chemistry at Clemson University and organizer of the workshop, his decision not to participate. DeSimone stated:

My graduate students and I support the NAACP’s position that this flag of institutionalized racism should be removed from the seat of current political sovereignty. As the Fluoropolymer Conference is currently planned to take place in Charleston, my research group must regretfully forego participation, and I must rescind my agreement to give an invited lecture.²³

By March 2000, due to the loss of more than one hundred conventions and twenty million dollars in revenue, the South Carolina Senate approved a bill to remove this Confederate flag from atop the State House’s dome roof and relocate it to a Civil War monument elsewhere on the State Capitol grounds. Further, the House of Representatives approved this bill by a procedural vote of a margin of 62 to 48.²⁴ However, tension mounted between the races in the legislative branch. Flag supporters wanted to kill the proposal, while African-American legislators did not want the flag to be relocated to a monument at one of Columbia’s busiest intersections. James Gallman, president of the South Carolina Chapter of the NAACP, reinforced their concerns by stating, “It is really an insult to us. Certainly, this will not bring resolution to the issue.”²⁵ Many white legislators gave their support to remove the flag to another location. For

²² Brenan Marine, Polymer, Workshop Defers to NAACP Boycott of South Carolina. *Chemical Engineer News*, March 6, 2000, 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ South Carolina Governor Signs Flag Law, 1.

example, House minority leader, Gilda Cobb-Hunter stated, "I see this as so much more than moving the flag. I see here an opportunity for us, if we choose to do it, to really make a difference in race relations in this state."²⁶

Shortly after the bill was approved, Governor Jim Hodges signed it into law, hereby removing the flag and relocating it to a Confederate monument. In a televised statement, Hodges announced that he signed the bill and expressed his pleasure that the debate was over. Hodges stated, "We must now heal the wounds of this divisive debate." Hodges also said this compromised bill accomplished his goal of moving the flag from the State House dome to a place of historical significance and said that, "In South Carolina, history is more than just dates in a textbook; it is an integral part of family tradition for African Americans and whites."²⁷ Regardless of Hodges' comment, the NAACP and other African Americans were not pleased with the new law. Gallman said it was more than an insult. Flag supporters "got exactly what they wanted. They have not given anything."²⁸

In connection with the law, Singleton stated, "The flag was moved some, but not enough. Having it fly anywhere on the grounds of the State House [Capitol] is a defiance to the black concerns about its racist image."²⁹ Nelson Rivers concurred with Singleton. Nelson stated, "It [the law] is an official way of calling you nigger and telling you to

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Paul E. Gable, "NAACP Renews Protest at Border," *Loris Scene*, http://www.zwire.com/site/news.cfm?newsid=7800078&BRD=1164&PAG=461&dept_id [accessed March 18, 2007].

know your place.³⁰ Singleton also suggested that the flag should be placed in a more appropriate place of historical significance.³¹ Also, former South Carolina Supreme Court Chief Justice Arthur Finney, the first African American to serve in that position, agreed that the flag should be placed in a Confederate historical area.³² Obviously, dissatisfied by the law, Singleton and the NAACP vowed to continue and expand the boycott on tourism in the state. Further, this position was reinforced when he stated, “We [the NAACP] are a determined group and we will continue to demonstrate on the issue until this symbol of racism and hate is removed from its position of sovereignty.”³³

As far as expanding the boycott, Singleton and other NAACP leaders established what was called the “border patrol,” whereby groups of volunteers assembled to picket and protest at state lines and encourage visitors not to spend money in the state.³⁴ The patrols usually worked on Saturdays when visitors were in great abundance in the state. Further, the protesters were greeted with mixed emotions from visitors who entered the state from North Carolina. At one of the border protests, Singleton stated, “We got it all. . . curses, the finger, thumbs up, thumbs down.”³⁵ Nevertheless, the boycott was effective and had a tremendous impact on the Grand Strand, as well as on the entire state of South Carolina. In contrast, Ashley Ward, president of Myrtle Beach Chamber of Commerce,

³⁰ Ibid., 2.

³¹ Ibid., 1.

³² Ibid., 2.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Jupiter Hammon, “Black Fest: From Small and Respectful to Large and Hedonistic,” <http://www.plagahata.com/pages/guest/blackbikefest.html> [accessed June 7, 2006].

³⁵ Jay Grelen, Protestors, State Differ on Impact, *The Sun News*, November 24, 2002, 1A.

maintained that tourist inquiries were running about four percent ahead of the previous year in May 2000 and there was a decrease in the number of conventions being held in South Carolina. However, Ward revealed that he received six letters from tourists informing him that they would not return until the flag was down in Myrtle Beach. Nevertheless, Ward concluded that the boycott had not hurt the Grand Strand. Singleton responded by only stating, "Ashley knows better and the boycott will continue until the flag is moved to an appropriate place, such as a replica cast in bronze and set in a rock."³⁶

One week after Singleton's first border patrol protest, a white organization, known as the European American Rights Organization (EURO), staged a counter-protest and established welcome patrols in South Carolina's visitors' welcome centers. EURO is based out of New Orleans, Louisiana and is considered to be a racist white rights group affiliated with former Ku Klux Klan leader, David Duke. During a protest, EURO members on motorcycles drove past the protesters and revved their engines in an attempt to silence the voices of the NAACP protesters' chants. A young white participant from North Carolina heaped verbal attacks as counter-protestors drove past. EURO members insisted that they were not against African Americans, but admitted that they were pro-white.³⁷ More importantly, EURO members stated that they were not against the NAACP's right to protest, but they disagreed completely with reasons for the protest. One of the EURO leaders, Vincent Breeding from Charleston, South Carolina, openly admitted to being a racist, but not a Nazi when he stated:

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Stephanie Broadbent, "Attorney General Drops NAACP Lawsuit," *Carolina Morning News*, September 5, 2005, p. 2 of 3.

We are a celebration of southern heritage in America. The NAACP can be as negative as they want to be, but we want to celebrate our southern heritage and promote tolerance and diversity, but that's not a one-way street. We are trying to make sure we can promote our own heritage and not oppose someone's heritage."³⁸

Breeding's statement further proved that white America believes reverse racism occurs today when he said, "To them [the NAACP], it seems diversity is the only thing that they agree with. It's amazing they can masquerade as an organization that promotes tolerance. They are anything but tolerant. . .the very people [African Americans] who fought so hard to rid America of racial discrimination have now become promoters of the very thing they hate."³⁹ NAACP president, Ken James countered Breeding's comments by stating that he felt sorry for rather than angry at the EURO protestors when he said:

I am going to pray for those poor souls (EURO). Apparently, there was not enough love in their families to understand what God's creation is all about. I totally ignore them. I've got white members in my chapter and I grew up with whites, so that's how I see things. . .I understand EURO members were taught hate instead of love as children and I'm hoping God will bless them. I continue to think of racist white groups as terrorists. What we need is to move forward in South Carolina.⁴⁰

EURO leaders also believed that Singleton and the NAACP was nothing more than economic terrorists. Meanwhile, Attorney General Charley Condon filed a lawsuit against the NAACP after warning the organization that its border demonstrations were

³⁸ Jim Burns, South Carolina Sues Group over Confederate Flag Flap, *CNS News*, March 19, 2002, 2, 1A.

³⁹ Rob Dewing and Stephen Weeks, "White Rights Group Pledges Support at Welcome Center," *Carolina Morning News* [March 10, 2002] p1: <http://lockcountry.now.com/stories/031002/loceurbish.html> [accessed September 26, 2005].

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

illegal. Further, Condon attempted to cloak his racist ideology by including EURO in the lawsuit. Condon maintained that when the NAACP publicly announced this form of protest in January 2002, he urged them to reconsider and personally met with organization officials, yet the NAACP refused to change their strategy. With this in mind, Condon stated, “Without gaining permission from any state or federal officials, the NAACP went forward with its plan to stage political protests at welcome centers and rest stops, an act which, in my judgment, is illegal.”⁴¹

Condon also expressed his views immediately after the NAACP announced its decision to stage boycotts in South Carolina. Moreover, Condon likened the NAACP’s demands to those of hostage-takers, terrorists, hijackers, and other groups that use tactics of fear, threats, or intimidation to gain their demands. Condon denounced the protestors as outside agitators and stated, “We need to send a strong signal to the NAACP agitators that it is quitting time. Working together, we (the Governor and Legislator) can slam the door shut on the NAACP’s incessant demands and stop its unstable appetite for agitation.” Condon further stated, “I am drawing the line in the sand.”⁴² Similarly, Alabama Governor George Wallace used this statement in one of his speeches supporting segregation.

Legally, Condon argued that the welcome centers and rest stops were a nontraditional form of public forum. Therefore, the government can prohibit speech or expressive activity, which is unrelated to the limited purposes that welcome centers served. Condon had a similar justification for his claim that the distinction between traditional public forums and nonpublic forums had been noted in court cases such as

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Burns, 2.

Perry Education Association v. Perry Local Educators' Association 460 US 37.44

(1983). The state had a right to restrict speech in a nontraditional public forum such as public parks or on the grounds of the State Capitol. The results of the Perry case revealed that restrictions on speech in public forum must be “counter-neutral, be narrowly tailored to serve a significant government interest and allow for significant alternative channel of communications.”⁴³ The real limit in a nonpublic forum is on a state’s ability to restrict speech that must refrain from suppressing expressions merely because public officials opposed the speaker’s views. In *Jacobson v. Bonine* 123F4d1272, 1274 (9th circle circuit 1997), the court concluded that interstate highway rest stops were not public forums. Therefore, the government can restrict speech.⁴⁴ However, Condon’s lawsuit did not deter Singleton and other state officials. The boycotts continued and the NAACP attorneys reviewed Condon’s lawsuit.

Approximately six months after the lawsuit was filed, Condon decided to drop it.

Condon’s reasons for dropping the lawsuit were noted in his statement:

My concern at that time was that such mass discrimination along one interstate highway system could pose a threat to the public. I was also concerned that innocent South Carolina businesses could suffer if tourists were intimidated into avoiding stops in our state. Fortunately, my fears have not come to pass. In short, there have been no acts of violence or disorder associated with the NAACP’s border patrol, and time had proven that the boycott has been ineffective in achieving its goal of damaging our state’s economy. At this point, the only legitimacy the NAACP boycott seems to enjoy is from the publicity they derive from the fact that the Attorney General of South Carolina is taking them to court. Continuing

⁴³ Strange Bedfellows: In South Carolina Pro and Anti-Confederate Flag Groups Find Themselves on the Same Side of a State Lawsuit, *Southern Poverty Law Center*, Intelligence Reports, Summer 2002. [Online-article] accessed 23 September 2005, 2.

⁴⁴ *Jacobson v. Bonine*, 123F4d 1272 1274, Ninth Circuit Court (1997).

the lawsuit would be a waste of limited state resources and the need for legislature has ended. Even though the law is clearly on our side in this case, common sense dictates that the time has come to dismiss the lawsuits and put the controversy behind us once and for all.”⁴⁵

The question in the minds of South Carolinian citizens is why Condon dropped the lawsuit. NAACP officials also believed that it was a political move by Condon in his race for governor. Further, Condon’s actions did not surprise Columbia’s NAACP President, Lonney Randolph who stated, “His bid for governor’s office is over. I felt all along that this was a campaign issue. We [the NAACP] were confident the lawsuit would not go anywhere.”⁴⁶

Many white South Carolinians did not accept the new law. They continued to display the Confederate flag on their personal property, which is a constitutional right. A prime example of this was after the passage of the bill, restaurant owner, Maurice Bessinger from Columbia, South Carolina in defiance displayed huge Confederate flags at all of his restaurant locations. Bessinger did so after Lexington County cited him for illegally flying the flag in violation of an obscure, never enforced sign ordinance.⁴⁷ Subsequently, Bessinger was cited and imposed a five hundred dollar a day fine as long as he displayed it. However, Bessinger refused to remove the flag, maintaining that his basic right of free speech allowed him to do so.⁴⁸ Later, the Lexington Town Council rescinded its ordinance and allowed everyone to display the flag at their places of

⁴⁵ Broadbent, p. 2 of 3.

⁴⁶ Broadbent, 1.

⁴⁷ Maurice Bessinger, “Maurice Makes a Political Statement,” http://www.mauricesbbq.com/politics/maurice_makes_a_political-statement.htm [accessed June 7, 2006].

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1.

business.⁴⁹ Consequently, the flag controversy remains a debate even today and affected other incidents in Horry County.

ATLANTIC BEACH AND THE BLACK BIKER FESTIVAL

Atlantic Beach, South Carolina is located on the southeast coast of Horry County. It is approximately seventeen miles north of Myrtle Beach. Historian Dr. John Hope Franklin describes the town as “rich in culture and entertainment, and was one of the most prosperous and popular places for African Americans during the 1940s to the mid-1970s.”⁵⁰ Historically, the slaves, who became known as Gullah/Geechees, came to the area with white planters and cultivated rice, which became one of South Carolina’s chief crops.⁵¹ Moreover, a large number of them are said to be from the Rice Coast or Winward Coast, which traditionally cultivated rice.⁵² After the Civil War, the Gullah people eventually migrated to all of the islands located on the Atlantic seaboard from Wilmington, North Carolina to North Florida and this area encompassed all of South Carolina and Georgia’s eastern seabords.⁵³ The present day Gullah people are direct

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ “Atlantic Beach South Carolina: Her History,” <http://www.atlanticbeach.sc.com/asps/history/asp> [accessed April 17, 2006].

⁵¹ Medical University of South Carolina, “The Gullah People,” Project Sugar: Division of Endocrinology, <http://www.gere.musc.edu/sugar> [accessed April 9, 2006].

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ The Island Packet, “Gullah History,” <http://www.islandpacket.com/man/gullah/history.html> [accessed April 9, 2006].

descendants of these early slaves and still maintain their African culture and customs brought here by their early descendants.⁵⁴

In the 1930s, the Gullah/Geechee people settled in the Atlantic Beach area and established businesses, such as hotels, night clubs, and novelty shops.⁵⁵ Eventually, Atlantic Beach was nicknamed “The Black Pearl” and evolved into a resort that offered African Americans a place to vacation and enjoy during the segregation era. Further, African Americans were not allowed to vacation at other beaches on the Grand Strand. Marquette L. Queen Quiet Goodwine reinforced this fact when she wrote, “Other beaches were not seen as a place that we [African Americans] should be allowed to go because we would dirty and ruin the water.”⁵⁶ In 1966, the city of Atlantic Beach was incorporated and the state of South Carolina issued the town its charter, establishing it as a full-fledged municipality and which may be the only remaining African-American owned ocean front chartered town in the United States.⁵⁷

In 1978, members of the African-American motorcycle club, the Carolina Knight Riders (CKR), decided to hold a motorcycle rally at the beach. The group traveled to South Carolina from across the nation to participate in many other rallies. However, these men and women wanted to sponsor a rally of their own and Atlantic Beach was the only resort area that would accept them. Initially, the rallies began with a small close knit group of friends and associates who shared a love of motorcycles. The group mixed and

⁵⁴ “The Gullah People.”

⁵⁵ “Atlantic Beach South Carolina: Her History.”

⁵⁶ Marquette L. Goodwin, “From Cross De Wata, Atlantic Beach, S. C. Gullah/Geechee WI Woods Festival,” http://www.bjmr.com/gullah_geechee/fcdwle.htm [accessed April 19, 2006].

⁵⁷ “Atlantic Beach South Carolina: Her History.”

mingled, danced and ate chicken bog, a South Carolina delicacy. In addition to sharing with close friends, the club saw the potential rally as a fundraising event to promote the social aspect of the rally.⁵⁸

Throughout the years, the event grew into what is now known as the Black Biker Festival (Fest) and takes place at Atlantic Beach during Memorial Day weekend. By 1998, the Black Biker Fest had attracted approximately 300,000 bikers. Due to limited local accommodations, the bikers spread out to Myrtle Beach and other surrounding areas for lodging and food. By 2000, Singleton and the NAACP's economic boycott became problematic for the Black Biker Fest and Atlantic Beach. Yet, Atlantic Beach mayor, Irene Armstrong called the Black Biker Fest a lifeline. Although the town did not receive a large amount of money from the event, it did receive \$70,000 for its welcoming efforts. Moreover, Armstrong stated, "Unfortunately, we are underdeveloped and have to depend on the Black Biker Fest because we are deprived. We must have this event for our property owners to be able to pay their taxes."⁵⁹ Similarly, Shirley Barnes-Pope, an organizer of the Black Biker Fest, concurred with the mayor when she stated, "We have the only black beach and one of the two black townships in the entire nation, which include Eatonville, Florida, home of writer, Zora Neal Hurston. Further, Barnes-Pope stated, Atlantic Beach will die without this event. It is not that I do not believe the flag should come down, but I do not think Atlantic Beach should suffer because of it."⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ "South Carolina Lawsuit Over Rest Stop Protest," posted September 6, 2002, <http://www.firstamendmentcenter.org/news.aspx?Id=3466&prilerfriendly.htm> [accessed 26 September 2005].

⁶⁰ Tarijj V. Wells, "Are You Black or Right," Black Voices.com, entry posted May 22, 2000, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2000/05/23/national/main198649.shtml> [accessed October 28, 2003].

Mayor Armstrong agreed and noted that the NAACP should have made contact with the town prior to launching the economic sanctions.⁶¹ Further, Armstrong suggested that the NAACP should consider exempting the town from the boycott for at least the 2000 Memorial Day Weekend.⁶²

However, Singleton and the other NAACP officials believed that Atlantic Beach should not be exempt in adhering to the economic boycott. Singleton stressed his position when he stated, "We cannot make any exceptions if we are going to be fair. It is an economic sanction against South Carolina, which includes all people, as well as the NAACP officials themselves."⁶³ Further, Singleton and the NAACP sent letters to bike groups encouraging them not to attend the 2000 bike fest, and he met with local leaders to discuss alternatives to assist in generating revenue instead of having the event and a variety of one-day festivals were suggested but no agreement could be reached.⁶⁴ As far as African-American South Carolinians, critics commented on the effectiveness of the protest and how it was inconvenient for them. Singleton responded:

The NAACP recognized that people who lived in Horry County must spend some money in the state. We cannot drive to North Carolina on empty gas tanks. We have to allow people to deal with their necessities. We do not challenge that. We do not penalize those who cannot honor the boycott."⁶⁵

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Black Bikers Week Attendance Unaffected by NAACP Boycott, *Power Sport Network*, May 31, 2001, 1.

⁶⁴ Grelen. 1A.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Other African-American leaders supported Singleton's position such as civil rights activists, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Sr. Jackson, a native of Greenville, South Carolina, who insisted that the economic boycott is about dignity, and everyone must suffer for the greater good.⁶⁶ Also, community activist and NAACP member, Ed Wilson, concurred with Jackson when he stated that Atlantic Beach should look at the big picture and not consider the city an exemption. In response to Wilson's comment, Atlantic Beach City Councilwoman, Gloria Lance, felt that tourists would come to South Carolina no matter what, and that it was a personal choice.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the 2000 Black Biker Fest did take place. To honor the economic boycott, the event attendees camped out at Atlantic Beach and cooked their own food. Further, several bikers stated that they would light candles each night at midnight in respect for the boycott.⁶⁸

RACISM AND THE BLACK BIKER FESTIVAL

In the mid-1990s, Myrtle Beach city officials and hospitality industry leaders exhibited overt hostility towards the Black Biker Fest participants. By 2000, these leaders clearly wanted to discourage bikers and they based their opposition on racial stereotyping and a fear that the Black Biker Fest would create an image that Myrtle

⁶⁶ Kimberly J. Wilson, "NAACP Boycott Over Flag Hurts Struggling Black Resort Community." Project 21. The National Leadership Network of Conservative African Americans, <http://nationalcenter.org/P21NVWilsonBeach302.html> [accessed October 28, 2003].

⁶⁷ Black Bikers Week Attendance Unaffected by NAACP Boycott, *Power Sport Network*, May 31, 2001, 1.

⁶⁸ Wells, p.2.

Beach was a “black beach” in the eyes of white tourists.⁶⁹ Also, by the 2000 festival, African-American bikers started to complain about the treatment they received from Myrtle Beach restaurants, businesses, and local police. Further, they asserted that they were treated quite differently than the white bikers that attended the sixty-year plus annual Harley-Davidson Festival (Harley-Davidson Fest) takes place only a week before the Black Biker Fest. Black bikers also claimed that Myrtle Beach business owners openly welcomed the white bikers to their restaurants, hotels, and other facilities. However, when they arrived, restaurants closed, motels implemented restrictive rules, and city officials restricted travel by enforcing a one-time “zero tolerance” policy to discourage African Americans from visiting the city.⁷⁰

Myrtle Beach’s Ocean Boulevard has always been a congested street, especially during the summer. Traffic is consistently ‘bumper to bumper’ both ways on the popular street. Thus, it was common for visitors to cruise both ways. Prior to 1998, Myrtle Beach officials allowed two-way traffic on Ocean Boulevard; hence two-way traffic was permitted throughout both the Black Biker Fest and Harley-Davidson Fest. However, in March 1998, Myrtle Beach officials changed this plan and implemented the one-way traffic restriction during the Black Biker Fest. In 2001, during Harley-Davidson Fest, Myrtle Beach officials deviated from the two-way traffic plan to a one-way traffic street plan. Due to this change, Singleton and other officials believed that Myrtle Beach implemented this one-way traffic plan in response to concerns that the traffic plans were

⁶⁹ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach, Warren Gail and Horry County. United States District Court of South Carolina. Florence Division, May 20, 2003.

⁷⁰ “NAACP and Twenty-five African Americans File Race Discrimination Lawsuits Against Myrtle Beach, a National Restaurant and a Regional Hotel Chain,” *NAACP News*, May 21, 2003: <http://www.naACP.org/home/index.htm> [accessed October 28, 2003].

racially motivated.⁷¹ Singleton further believed that the one-way plan was racially motivated because discrimination and covert racism were clearly seen in 2001 during and after the Harley-Davidson Fest. After a number of festival participants and hospitality leaders complained about the one-way restrictions on Ocean Boulevard and the negative impact the plan had on Harley-Davidson Fest, Myrtle Beach Mayor Mark McBride called an emergency session of the City Council to reverse the decision to impose the one-way traffic plan for the upcoming Harley-Davidson Fest. McBride lifted the one-way restrictions on Sunday, May 20, 2001, the day before the Harley-Davidson Fest began. Conversely, he re-implemented the one-way restrictions during the Black Biker Fest that took place a week later.⁷²

Mayor McBride had always been against the Black Biker Fest prior to his election as mayor. For example, he advocated the elimination of the Black Biker Fest even when he was seated as a city councilman. In 1998, he also attempted to prevent and intimidate African-American participants by requesting South Carolina to deploy the National Guard to provide enforcement during the Black Biker Fest, but never requested the National Guard during the Harley-Davidson Fest. During the same year, the Myrtle Beach *Sun News* quoted McBride as saying during the height of the Black Biker Fest, “He felt uncomfortable and there were times when he felt threatened.”⁷³ Further, the increase in law enforcement and aggressive police tactics were intended to discourage African Americans from coming to Myrtle Beach during Black Biker Fest. This racist

⁷¹ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach, Warren Gail and Horry County, p. 9.

⁷² Ibid., 14.

⁷³ Ibid., 9.

position was further reinforced by McBride's comments after the 1998 Black Biker Fest. The *Sun News* reported McBride's comments concerning how the city should discontinue the Black Biker Fest, stating "If we enforce, they (African Americans) won't come."⁷⁴ Also, Singleton referred to a statement made by the Myrtle Beach mayor, Mark McBride, when Singleton argued that hidden racism must be prevalent in the decision to display the one-way traffic pattern during Black Biker Fest. McBride stated in a deposition:

The city welcomes white tourists during Harley Week and tries to discourage the Black Biker Fest tourists from visiting. African Americans want to disregard the law and sit on top of their cars, smoke dope, drink, and do whatever they want to and disregard everything. . .when you tell a group of white youths to behave or you're going to jail, for the most part, they will behave.⁷⁵

Singleton, local NAACP leaders, as well as other leaders in South Carolina, were appalled at Mayor McBride's comments. Myrtle Beach NAACP President, Mickey James criticized McBride and asked him to publicly apologize. Similarly, other national NAACP leaders also demanded an apology from McBride. James commented, "Council (Myrtle Beach City Council) shouldn't tolerate McBride's statements. You can't just bury your head in the sand." James further noted that McBride was seeking re-election in November 2005 and said that they will look for a new leader.⁷⁶

Regardless of James and other local NAACP leaders' demand for an apology, McBride stood by his statement and meant what he said in the context of the comments. McBride refused to apologize for his comments and asked the Myrtle Beach City Council

⁷⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁷⁵ NAACP Challenges Myrtle Beach Travel Restrictions on Black Bikers. NAACP News, May 21, 2005. 1.

⁷⁶ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach, Warren Gail and Horry County, p. 14.

to cancel Black Biker Fest activities during the 2005 festival at the Myrtle Beach Convention Center. Further, McBride justified canceling this event because he believed the Black Biker Fest events lasted all night long. McBride commented, “. . .and this is not what this community’s about. I believe I represent the people.”⁷⁷ Several city council members criticized McBride’s decision to cancel Black Biker Fest activities at the convention center. Mark Kruea pointed out that McBride did not have the authority to stop events at the city-supported convention center and that city council members had the authority to request the city manager to stop the event, but in doing so it could create liability for the city.⁷⁸

In May 2003, Singleton, representing the Conway Chapter of the NAACP and twenty-five Black Biker Fest participants, filed two lawsuits in state district court located in Florence, South Carolina. The lawsuits alleged widespread discrimination in Myrtle Beach restaurants and the Yachtsman Motel. The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and the NAACP Legal Department litigated the suits. Law firms involved in the suits were Washington D.C.’s Morgan Lewis and Bockius; Patton Boggs, Steptoe and Johnson; Baach, Robinson, and Lewis; and Armand Derfner’s firm in Charleston, South Carolina, all of whom provided pro bono representation.⁷⁹

The lawsuit alleged that Denny’s, Red Lobster, Damon’s, and the House of Blues closed during peak hours during the Black Biker Fest weekend. The testimony of plaintiff Washica Little was provided as evidence when she stated, “It is extraordinarily

⁷⁷ Emma Ritch, Myrtle Beach Mayor Wants Bike Fest Event Nixed: McBride Stands by Comments about Biker Fest Attendees, *The Sun News*, May25, 2005, 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ NAACP and Twenty-five African Americans, p.2.

difficult to get a meal in Myrtle Beach during Black Biker Fest week, restaurant after restaurant is closed during peak times.”⁸⁰ Conversely, during the Harley-Davidson Fest, these restaurants maintained their normal operating hours. Moreover, many of these businesses also displayed signs welcoming bikers to their places of business during the Harley-Davidson Fest week. Furthermore, some restaurants claimed coincidental circumstances, such as the need to remodel or pave parking lots when the black bikers were in town. Singleton also filed complaints with the South Carolina Human Affairs Commission, alleging that all persons who sought or attempted to eat in restaurants, but found them closed during normal business hours was an example of covert racism.⁸¹ Further, the Reverend Kenneth Floyd concurred, when he stated,

The only thing that we are seeking is equal justice for all people, regardless of race, creed, or color. Closing the restaurants and certain parts of the streets when the majority of tourists in this city are black is simply wrong. That is racism at its worse and we will not tolerate it.”⁸²

Singleton’s lawsuits also cited the Yachtsman Hotel, alleging that the hotel radically changed the terms and conditions over the past several years for guests during Black Biker Fest week. For example, the hotel required guests to sign a thirty-four rule guest contract and to pay for their entire stay in advance (see Appendix 13 for a copy of the guest contract). Additionally, the hotel refused to process any reservations for that weekend without the advance submission of a photo identification card and charged

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² NAACP Challenges Myrtle Beach Travel Restrictions on Black Bikers. NAACP News, May 21, 2005. 1.

significantly more for rooms, which required a substantially longer minimum stay.⁸³

This lawsuit also included a preliminary injunction that requested the court to halt the city from using this one-way traffic restriction during Black Biker Fest.⁸⁴ At that time, NAACP interim President and CEO, Dennis Hayes stated, “The NAACP has been fighting for public accommodation laws since the 1930s and we’re going to continue to fight until we make democracy work for all under the Constitution.”⁸⁵ Haynes also asserted:

The conduct of these public and private institutions that closed down or implemented one-time restrictive and oppressive rules simply because most of the visitors in Myrtle Beach over the Memorial Day Weekend are signals that African Americans cannot be tolerated. It is tragic and disheartening to see this type of blatant discrimination in the year 2003, nearly 50 years after the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education* and nearly forty years after Congress outlawed race discrimination in places of public accommodation.⁸⁶

In 2003, Singleton also filed a lawsuit against the city of Myrtle Beach, the chief of police, Warren Gall, and Horry County on behalf of six other plaintiffs: Craig Williams, Lewis Ely, Jocelyn Mercer-Brown, Mark Stewart, Washica Little, and Michael Little. According to the lawsuit, the city of Myrtle Beach adopted and implemented racial discriminatory traffic restrictions. These police tactics were the basis of stereotyping African Americans, which lawfully interfered with their constitutionally protected rights.

⁸³ NAACP and Twenty-five African Americans, p.1.

⁸⁴ NAACP Challenges Myrtle Beach Travel Restrictions on Black Bikers. NAACP News, May 21, 2005. 1.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Eric Reed, Atlantic Beach: A Victim of Indecision, *The Sun News*, February 16, 2003, 1.

Also, Singleton and requested damages, declaratory and injunctive relief to remedy the deprivation of the plaintiffs' constitutional rights.⁸⁷

The City of Myrtle Beach used three times more law enforcement officials during the week of the Black Biker Fest than Harley-Davidson Fest week. Yet, both events attracted similar numbers of participants. Further, many plaintiffs openly expressed their resentment, such as plaintiff Jocelyn Mercer-Brown, who had attended the festival for several years. She stated, "The treatment by the police is disgraceful and needs to be changed." Also, Craig Williams, a detective in the Baltimore Police Department, stated, "The traffic restrictions and the number of police are designed to accomplish one thing which was to harass and intimidate African Americans attending the bike rally so that they would leave early and not come back next year."⁸⁸

Conversely, Myrtle Beach city officials stated that Singleton's allegations were groundless and the two different festivals must be handled differently. However, they were never clear on how and why police monitoring should be different or what prompted them to operate differently relative to these events. The city officials only commented that the events impacted the area differently. Mark Kruea, a city spokesman, concurred when he stated, "The Harley Week [Harley-Davidson Fest] is ten days of commercially sponsored events that get riders off their bikes and into venues. Black Bike Fest is based on cruising and showboating meant to impress friends and the opposite sex. As a result, streets must be shut down."⁸⁹ McBride also stated that the Black Biker Fest

⁸⁷ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach, Warren Gail and Horry County, p. 14.

⁸⁸ NAACP and Twenty-five African Americans, p.1.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

was much bigger and more rowdy compared to the Harley-Davidson Fest. Other residents of Myrtle Beach voiced their opinions such as Samantha Wood, a fifth-grade teacher when she said “They leave so much trash. They go around sticking their butts out. It is disgusting.”⁹⁰

THE HARLEY-DAVIDSON BIKE FESTIVAL

The Harley-Davidson Bike Fest also began as a small gathering of bikers in North Myrtle Beach in 1940. Over the years, these bikers continued to return to the Grand Strand and their numbers increased. As a result, the city of Myrtle Beach created more events for the bikers and the city became a focal point for the week-long rally⁹¹ The Harley-Davidson Fest attracts many well-known biker clubs, such as the Hell’s Angels, Mongrels, and the Pagans. Further, these clubs have done much more than the bikers that attend Black Biker Fest. Throughout these clubs’ existence, violence, vandalism, and death have been associated with their names. For example, during the 1994 Harley-Davidson Fest in Myrtle Beach, the city police was forced to close down parts of Ocean Boulevard one afternoon due to an armed confrontation between the Hell’s Angels and the Pagans.⁹² However, the most horrific examples of violence associated with these biker clubs occurred in other cities in the country. In April 2002, rival motorcycle gangs fought in Laughlin, Nevada. As a result of this incident, three gang members were killed

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Jeffrey Gentleman, Black Bike Week Huge Popularity May be Putting Future in Doubt, *The Seattle Times*, June 30, 2003, 1A.

⁹² Chuck Squatriglia, “Cycle of Violence: Biker Clashes Could Spread to Bag Area as Mongols Try to Move into Hell’s Angels,” <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article?file=1c/a/2002/05/16/MA2995.DTL&type=print.cti> [accessed July 7, 2006, 1].

and at least thirteen were wounded.⁹³ The violence in Laughlin developed from the war between the Hell's Angels and the Mongrels. Hell's Angels members attacked the Mongrels for territorial violations that extended beyond the Louisiana basin. A Hell's Angels' member was killed as he rode in San Bernardino County. Examples of vengeance were posted on the Hell's Angels' web site. Among some of the messages posted were, "To the bikers who lost their lives in Laughlin, may you rest in peace and know that this will not go without consequences. God forgives. Angels don't."⁹⁴

However, the Mongrels appeared to be more violent than the Hell's Angels. In May 2000, federal authorities arrested forty-one members on charges ranging from murder, arson, extortion, and drug dealing. In one incident, one hundred guns, four pounds of cocaine, and six pounds of methamphetamine were found.⁹⁵ Further, since September 11, 2001, some states, such as California, have established surveillance to monitor these white biker clubs. Also, Jennifer Jacob, an intelligence analyst with the California Department of Justice, added, "Laughlin raised some red flags. We're seeing more concern from law enforcement in jurisdictions that host these runs. Everyone wants to take preventive measures to keep what happened in Laughlin from happening in their community."⁹⁶

Despite the well-documented history of violence associated with these white biker clubs, many citizens continue to host these rallies and literally open up the entire city to

⁹³ "Motorcycle Gang Clash at Casino Kills Three," CNN.com/U.S. April 27, 2002, p. 1 of 3: <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/US/04/27/> [accessed 28 March 2007].

⁹⁴ Chuck Squatriglia. 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

accommodate these events. However, many cities implemented certain safety precautions as a result of the Laughlin incident. For example, Mayor McBride and the city's law enforcement and hospitality industry, started planning early for the 2002 Harley-Davidson Fest. Yet, Myrtle Beach resorts and merchants express their appreciation for the white bikers by displaying signs such as "Welcome Hog Members" and "Welcome Bikers" throughout the city during the Harley Week Fest. Further, the Myrtle Beach Chamber of Commerce also provided a thirty- page color brochure for Harley participants, including a welcome letter from the Chief of Police. These bikers were welcomed to the city and they were thanked for visiting the city and encouraged to return. Conversely, the city's appreciation is quite different during Black Biker Fest. The Chamber of Commerce only issued a two-page brochure that listed local traffic laws, the location of jails, hospitals, and a warning concerning massive traffic jams. Interestingly, the brochure did not contain a welcome letter from any city official.⁹⁷

As far as Singleton's lawsuits, in June 2003, Myrtle Beach and Horry County officials finally responded to litigation by seeking a dismissal in federal court. In addition, the city officials maintained that the civil rights organization lacked standing in presenting the lawsuit. Further, Myrtle Beach and Horry County officials denied that they discriminated against the African American bikers, that law enforcement handled traffic control differently, and that both governments used three times as many law officers during the Black Biker Fest than the Harley-Davidson Fest. What is more important is that officials requested reimbursement for legal fees from the lawsuits.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ City Responds to NAACP. 1.

Myrtle Beach government officials also noted that their policies and actions were supported by the United States Justice Department, Civil Rights Division. The city officials maintained that the NAACP implemented the lawsuits for “inferior purposes and motivations not appropriate for this action and their policies had not injured or harmed the NAACP or any of its members.”⁹⁹ However, Singleton and other NAACP officials were determined to follow through in court and were positive that they would be victorious. Moreover, the civil rights organization’s attitude concerning its success in court was further reinforced by its President and Chief Executive Officer Kweisi Mfume when he stated, “In this day and age you would think that business owners realize that discrimination is not just illegal, but also immoral. This kind of discrimination cannot hold up in court.”¹⁰⁰ How successful will the NAACP be in receiving a verdict in their favor? Discrimination law experts believed that the NAACP lawsuits success depended on whether or not attorneys could prove Myrtle Beach officials, police, and the motels treated bike festival attendees differently solely because of race. Moreover, David Harris, a law professor at the University of Toledo who specialized in discrimination law and racial profiling, stated, “If the defense can claim traffic or crowd size affected their decision, the charge of racism will not stick. As long as there is reasonable doubt that race is a motive, you cannot prove it.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Myrtle Beach, Horry County Seeks Dismissal of Lawsuit, *The Sun News*, June 25, 2003, 1A.

¹⁰⁰ “NAACP Alleges Bias at S. C. Biker Fest,” <http://www.bottom.com> [accessed May 28, 2004].

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FIVE

SINGLETON AND THE NAACP SETTLE LAWSUITS IN HORRY COUNTY

As aforementioned, the defendants in Singleton's lawsuits were confident that he and the NAACP did not have a concrete case. Further, legal professionals also believed it would be difficult to prove discrimination, particularly against the city of Myrtle Beach. However, Singleton and the NAACP retained some of the most prestigious law firms in the country that specialized in litigation involving racism and discrimination. First of all, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) and the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs handled Singleton and The NAACP's lawsuit against Myrtle Beach. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Incorporated is one of the leading civil rights organizations in America. Based in New York City, the LDF was founded in 1940 by Thurgood Marshall and other African-American attorneys that worked with the NAACP. Of course, the LDF was part of the NAACP, but it became a separate and independent organization in 1957.¹ Throughout LDF's history, the organization has litigated prominent cases that altered the course of history and the civil rights of African Americans and other minorities. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) is one of the first cases. Although the organization was not established in

¹ McKinney and Associates, "NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund," <http://www.mckpr.com/clients/ldf.htm> [accessed April 24, 2004].

1938, LDF's founder, Thurgood Marshall, litigated the case on behalf of the NAACP. This case invalidated state laws that refused African-American student access to all-white graduate schools when no separate state graduate schools were available to them.² LDF managed to get the U. S. Supreme Court to force Texas to allow African Americans to vote in primary elections in *Smith vs. Allwright* (1944). In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the court ruled against a Texas attempt to circumvent *Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada*. Perhaps, LDF's most renowned case is *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* that was heard in 1954. In this landmark case, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled against de jure segregation in public education facilities.³ Further, in the 1960s, LDF represented many civil rights leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther Dr. King, Jr., in contempt charges for demonstrating without a permit in Birmingham, Alabama.⁴

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy requested that a legal organization be created to focus on civil rights issues. As a result, the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights was created following a meeting of two hundred and forty attorneys. President Kennedy, Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy urged attorneys to use their training and influence to increase the struggle for protection of civil rights from the streets to the courts.⁵ Attorneys were from all areas of the country

² *Missouri ex. Rel Gaines v. Canada*, Supreme Court of the United States. 305 US 337 (1938).

³ Wikipedia. "NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NAACP_legal_defense_and_educational_fund [accessed April 24, 2006].

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Charles T. Lester, Jr., "The History of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law," 1963-2003, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law. <http://www.lawyerscomm.org/2005website/aboutus/history/history/html> [accessed February 22, 2007].

and among them were fifty African-American attorneys. Since 1963, the initial goals of the organization remain unchanged. They are as follows:

1. To marshal the resources of the private bar, including its leadership for public policy advocacy;
2. To educate the public and the bar on civil rights;
3. To enlist the skills of lawyers as negotiators and mediators to help resolve disputes; and
4. To provide pro bono legal assistance to victims of discrimination⁶

The Committee believed themselves to be “missionaries to the bar,” and it was only after unsuccessful efforts to involve lawyers in the protection of civil rights that the organization became more proactive.⁷ Since the 1960s, the Committee has been active in virtually every state in the nation and in Africa. For example, in 1967 and 1968 the Committee rendered legal services to combat problems in South Africa by working with a small group of South African lawyers who were determined to resist apartheid and represented political dissidents in South African courts. Further, the Committee’s activities continued for more than thirty years up to and through the liberation of Namibia from South Africa’s illegal occupation and the end of apartheid in the country with the free and open elections in 1994.⁸

Additionally, Singleton and the NAACP employed other prominent law firms, such as Washington D.C, law firms Morgan, Lewis and Bockins, LLP, Patterson Boggs, LLP, Steptoe and Johnson, LLP, Baach Robinson and Lewis, PLLC, and Rose and

⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

Rose, P.C.⁹ In South Carolina, Armand Derfner's law firm also contributed to the litigation of the NAACP lawsuits against Myrtle Beach. As mentioned earlier, Derfner litigated Singleton's lawsuit against Horry County Board of Education. Moreover, all of these law firms specialized in providing pro bono representation. Pro Bono representation is rendered to clients who cannot afford to pay for their legal services.¹⁰ Most importantly, pro bono legal services represents individuals, groups, or organizations that seek to secure or protect human rights, civil rights, and civil liberties and public right.¹¹ Hence, it is clear why these law firms elected to assist Singleton and the NAACP in their lawsuits in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.

After sixteen months of litigation, Singleton's case against the Yachtsman Hotel was finally settled out of court in Singleton's favor in October, 2004. The settlement mandated policy changes, discounts, and a monetary settlement for the plaintiff.¹² The settlement allowed the hotel not to openly admit to discrimination during the Black Biker Fest; however, the hotel agreed to provide compensation to the plaintiffs and pay attorneys' fees. Further, the agreement prevented representatives from both sides from further discussion of the settlement with the media. The settlement was reportedly \$1.2 million dollars, which was awarded to the twelve plaintiffs and attorneys and allowed other plaintiffs to sue the hotel once the suits were finalized. The settlement also

⁹ NAACP Files Suits Alleging Race Discrimination in Myrtle Beach, south Carolina by Restaurants, a Hotel and the Police During Black Bike Week.

¹⁰ Bryan Cave, "Pro Bono", <http://www.bryancave.com/bryancave/probono/> [accessed April 23, 2008].

¹¹ Akin Gump Strauss Hauer and Feld, LLP. Pro Bono Policies and Procedures. December 7, 2006. 4 of 21.

¹² *NAACP v. Shawnee Development, Incorporated, General Direct Marketing, Incorporated, d/b/a the Yachtsman Resort Hotel; David Waller in his capacity as V. P. of Marketing and Sales for Yachtsman Resort Hotel; and John Doe, 1-10*, The District Court of South Carolina, Florence Division, May 20, 2003.

provided that fifty-one and one-third percent of the settlement would be divided among the twelve plaintiffs and the Conway Branch of the NAACP and that the remaining funds would be set aside for other guests who stayed at the hotel during any of the Black Bike Fests in 2000, 2001, and 2002.¹³ Plaintiffs Michael and Washica Little commented on the settlement, stating, “We’ve been there for a number of years, and it kept getting worse and worse. I feel like with the hotel settling the way they did, at least it shows there’s something that was wrong. I feel like it increases our chances with the city and the restaurants.”¹⁴

The settlement did not force the Yachtsman to admit to discrimination against hotel guests during the Black Biker Fest. Scholars who commented on the Yachtsman’s settlement reinforced the fact that the hotel imposed discriminatory sanctions during Black Biker Fest for many years. Thus, the hotel was liable. For example, David Larson, a professor and senior fellow at the Hamline University School of Law in Minnesota, made a few interesting points regarding the settlement in his statement:

When it comes to discrimination settlements, it’s really difficult to do comparisons because most of them are confidential. The hotel had a clear case of liability and settled for a notable sum of money considering the hotel is not part of the chain. It’s a significant amount of money, but when you look at the terms of the settlement and look at the length of time being covered and what the potential pool is, it doesn’t look like a bad deal to the hotel.¹⁵

¹³ Emma Rich, NAACP Settles Discrimination Lawsuit with the Yachtsman Resort Hotel in Myrtle Beach Mandating Policy Changes Discounts and a Monetary Settlement, *The Sun News*, 21 October 2004, 1A.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Also, Larson believed that the settlement may have been beneficial to African Americans that would go beyond the Black Biker Fest and the hotel may have saved money and prevented future lawsuits. As a result of the case, the Washington Lawyers Committee awarded Patton Boggs, LLP, a Pro Bono award for its effort in finalizing the Yachtsman case.¹⁶

After the Yachtsman Hotel settlement, Myrtle Beach City Officials were concerned how it would affect other lawsuits against the restaurants and the city. This concern was evident in a statement made by spokesperson Mark Kruea, “The city is absolutely still fighting the charges despite the Yachtsman settlement. I cannot see how it has any effect on the lawsuit against the city.”¹⁷ However, the lawsuit did affect Singleton’s lawsuit against Myrtle Beach city government because covert racism was proven in the Yachtsman case and upheld by federal courts in South Carolina. Shortly after the Yachtsman settlement, Myrtle Beach attempted to defend the allegations that it and the local restaurants discriminated against the Black Biker Fest over the years. The city’s attorneys believed that Singleton and the NAACP were more interested in obtaining profit than righting a wrong.¹⁸ Moreover, Myrtle Beach Attorney Cynthia Graham-Howe filed a motion in court that would force the NAACP to produce documents concerning its economic boycott against South Carolina and its settlement

¹⁶ “Patton, Boggs Receives Prestigious Washington Lawyers Committee Pro Bono Award,” June 2005: <http://www.pattonboggs.com/probono/recognition/RecDevDetail.aspx?Publication=18>. [accessed April 11, 2008].

¹⁷ Emma Rich, NAACP Settles Discrimination Lawsuit with the Yachtsman Resort Hotel in Myrtle Beach Mandating Policy Changes Discounts and a Monetary Settlement, *The Sun News*, 21 October 2004, 1A.

¹⁸ Bruce Smith, “City Wants NAACP Documents on Flag Boycott Settlement,” May 9, 2005: <http://www.jacksonville.com/apnews/stories/050905/D89VQEM80.shtml> [accessed April 15, 2008].

discussions of discrimination lawsuits against three Myrtle Beach restaurants. Moreover, the motion also asked for copies of settlement agreements when the NAACP obtained monetary relief from national companies, such as Coca-Cola, Texaco, and Abercrombie and Fitch.¹⁹ Conversely, NAACP attorney Paul Hurst stated, “It’s sort of mind-boggling the view we are out to make a profit from the lawsuits. . .It’s so far from the truth, it’s ridiculous.”²⁰ Overall, concerning the motion, he commented, “I’m not surprised because they [the city of Myrtle Beach officials] have to divert attention from the true facts of what they are doing. They are treating African Americans differently. Do they have evidence to support it? They don’t.”²¹ Further, David Larson also supported the plaintiffs and contradicted rumors that the NAACP was only out for monetary gain when he stated that it was obvious that they were not interested in other things besides money. Larson stated, “While they could have held out and gotten more, the settlements are just not about money; it’s about correcting behavior. It’s a public declaration that African American are, in fact, welcome at this hotel.”²²

The Myrtle Beach attorneys mentioned only three restaurants in its motion. These restaurants were J. Edward Flemings’ Great Ribs and More, Greg Norman’s Australian Grill, and Damon’s Grill. However, Singleton’s lawsuits involved at least twenty-eight Grand Strand restaurants.²³ In May 2004, Singleton filed federal civil rights class action

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. 2.

²² Rich, p 2.

²³ Four Myrtle Beach Area Restaurants Sued for Discrimination: NAACP and Several Individuals, Plaintiffs Filed Federal Civil Rights Lawsuits, *NAACP*, 27 May 2004.

lawsuits that involved J. Edward Fleming's restaurants. Fleming owned two restaurants and has always showed disdain against African Americans who patronized his restaurants during Black Biker Fest. Once Fleming was cognizant of the lawsuit, he stated in a *Sun News* press conference, "I think it is ridiculous [the lawsuit]. I think they [NAACP] are racists and they are out of line."²⁴ Further, Fleming denied the allegations that his decision to close the restaurants was racially motivated. He insisted that it was due to difficulty in employees getting to work because of the traffic gridlock during Black Biker Fest. However, his restaurants remained open every day during Harley-Davidson Fest when white bikers were in the city. Also, since 1996, both of his restaurants were closed during Black Biker fest. Since both bike rallies attracted a large amount of participants, it is an assumption that these restaurants should be able to handle and appreciate the high volumes of revenue during both events. Subsequently, covert racism and discrimination must have been the underlying factor for Fleming to close his restaurants during Black Biker Fest.

After almost a year of litigation, J. Edward Fleming decided to settle in April 2005. The NAACP and Fleming both agreed that the ultimate result of the litigation could not be predicted with certainty and the continuation of the litigation would involve substantial legal fees and costs. The meeting between the parties revealed the existence of shared principles and common goals, notwithstanding the existence of evidence that might support the litigation position of each party.²⁵ According to the settlement, Fleming agreed to keep his restaurant open from 3:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. daily during

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Myrtle Beach Settles Discrimination Lawsuit, *NAACP*, 26 April 2005, 1.

accommodate these events. However, many cities implemented certain safety precautions as a result of the Laughlin incident. For example, Mayor McBride and the city's law enforcement and hospitality industry, started planning early for the 2002 Harley-Davidson Fest. Yet, Myrtle Beach resorts and merchants express their appreciation for the white bikers by displaying signs such as "Welcome Hog Members" and "Welcome Bikers" throughout the city during the Harley Week Fest. Further, the Myrtle Beach Chamber of Commerce also provided a thirty- page color brochure for Harley participants, including a welcome letter from the Chief of Police. These bikers were welcomed to the city and they were thanked for visiting the city and encouraged to return. Conversely, the city's appreciation is quite different during Black Biker Fest. The Chamber of Commerce only issued a two-page brochure that listed local traffic laws, the location of jails, hospitals, and a warning concerning massive traffic jams. Interestingly, the brochure did not contain a welcome letter from any city official.⁹⁷

As far as Singleton's lawsuits, in June 2003, Myrtle Beach and Horry County officials finally responded to litigation by seeking a dismissal in federal court. In addition, the city officials maintained that the civil rights organization lacked standing in presenting the lawsuit. Further, Myrtle Beach and Horry County officials denied that they discriminated against the African American bikers, that law enforcement handled traffic control differently, and that both governments used three times as many law officers during the Black Biker Fest than the Harley-Davidson Fest. What is more important is that officials requested reimbursement for legal fees from the lawsuits.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ City Responds to NAACP. 1.

Myrtle Beach government officials also noted that their policies and actions were supported by the United States Justice Department, Civil Rights Division. The city officials maintained that the NAACP implemented the lawsuits for “inferior purposes and motivations not appropriate for this action and their policies had not injured or harmed the NAACP or any of its members.”⁹⁹ However, Singleton and other NAACP officials were determined to follow through in court and were positive that they would be victorious. Moreover, the civil rights organization’s attitude concerning its success in court was further reinforced by its President and Chief Executive Officer Kweisi Mfume when he stated, “In this day and age you would think that business owners realize that discrimination is not just illegal, but also immoral. This kind of discrimination cannot hold up in court.”¹⁰⁰ How successful will the NAACP be in receiving a verdict in their favor? Discrimination law experts believed that the NAACP lawsuits success depended on whether or not attorneys could prove Myrtle Beach officials, police, and the motels treated bike festival attendees differently solely because of race. Moreover, David Harris, a law professor at the University of Toledo who specialized in discrimination law and racial profiling, stated, “If the defense can claim traffic or crowd size affected their decision, the charge of racism will not stick. As long as there is reasonable doubt that race is a motive, you cannot prove it.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Myrtle Beach, Horry County Seeks Dismissal of Lawsuit, *The Sun News*, June 25, 2003, 1A.

¹⁰⁰ “NAACP Alleges Bias at S. C. Biker Fest,” <http://www.bottom.com> [accessed May 28, 2004].

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

SINGLETON AND THE NAACP SETTLE LAWSUITS IN HORRY COUNTY

As aforementioned, the defendants in Singleton's lawsuits were confident that he and the NAACP did not have a concrete case. Further, legal professionals also believed it would be difficult to prove discrimination, particularly against the city of Myrtle Beach. However, Singleton and the NAACP retained some of the most prestigious law firms in the country that specialized in litigation involving racism and discrimination. First of all, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) and the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs handled Singleton and The NAACP's lawsuit against Myrtle Beach. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Incorporated is one of the leading civil rights organizations in America. Based in New York City, the LDF was founded in 1940 by Thurgood Marshall and other African-American attorneys that worked with the NAACP. Of course, the LDF was part of the NAACP, but it became a separate and independent organization in 1957.¹ Throughout LDF's history, the organization has litigated prominent cases that altered the course of history and the civil rights of African Americans and other minorities. *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* (1938) is one of the first cases. Although the organization was not established in

¹ McKinney and Associates, "NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund," <http://www.mckpr.com/clients/ldf.htm> [accessed April 24, 2004].

1938, LDF's founder, Thurgood Marshall, litigated the case on behalf of the NAACP. This case invalidated state laws that refused African-American student access to all-white graduate schools when no separate state graduate schools were available to them.² LDF managed to get the U. S. Supreme Court to force Texas to allow African Americans to vote in primary elections in *Smith vs. Allwright* (1944). In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the court ruled against a Texas attempt to circumvent *Missouri ex. rel. Gaines v. Canada*. Perhaps, LDF's most renowned case is *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* that was heard in 1954. In this landmark case, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled against de jure segregation in public education facilities.³ Further, in the 1960s, LDF represented many civil rights leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther Dr. King, Jr., in contempt charges for demonstrating without a permit in Birmingham, Alabama.⁴

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy requested that a legal organization be created to focus on civil rights issues. As a result, the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights was created following a meeting of two hundred and forty attorneys. President Kennedy, Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy urged attorneys to use their training and influence to increase the struggle for protection of civil rights from the streets to the courts.⁵ Attorneys were from all areas of the country

² *Missouri ex. Rel Gaines v. Canada*, Supreme Court of the United States. 305 US 337 (1938).

³ Wikipedia. "NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NAACP_legal_defense_and_educational_fund [accessed April 24, 2006].

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Charles T. Lester, Jr., "The History of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law," 1963-2003, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under the Law. <http://www.lawyerscomm.org/2005website/aboutus/history/history/html> [accessed February 22, 2007].

and among them were fifty African-American attorneys. Since 1963, the initial goals of the organization remain unchanged. They are as follows:

1. To marshal the resources of the private bar, including its leadership for public policy advocacy;
2. To educate the public and the bar on civil rights;
3. To enlist the skills of lawyers as negotiators and mediators to help resolve disputes; and
4. To provide pro bono legal assistance to victims of discrimination⁶

The Committee believed themselves to be “missionaries to the bar,” and it was only after unsuccessful efforts to involve lawyers in the protection of civil rights that the organization became more proactive.⁷ Since the 1960s, the Committee has been active in virtually every state in the nation and in Africa. For example, in 1967 and 1968 the Committee rendered legal services to combat problems in South Africa by working with a small group of South African lawyers who were determined to resist apartheid and represented political dissidents in South African courts. Further, the Committee’s activities continued for more than thirty years up to and through the liberation of Namibia from South Africa’s illegal occupation and the end of apartheid in the country with the free and open elections in 1994.⁸

Additionally, Singleton and the NAACP employed other prominent law firms, such as Washington D.C, law firms Morgan, Lewis and Bockins, LLP, Patterson Boggs, LLP, Steptoe and Johnson, LLP, Baach Robinson and Lewis, PLLC, and Rose and

⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

Rose, P.C.⁹ In South Carolina, Armand Derfner's law firm also contributed to the litigation of the NAACP lawsuits against Myrtle Beach. As mentioned earlier, Derfner litigated Singleton's lawsuit against Horry County Board of Education. Moreover, all of these law firms specialized in providing pro bono representation. Pro Bono representation is rendered to clients who cannot afford to pay for their legal services.¹⁰ Most importantly, pro bono legal services represents individuals, groups, or organizations that seek to secure or protect human rights, civil rights, and civil liberties and public right.¹¹ Hence, it is clear why these law firms elected to assist Singleton and the NAACP in their lawsuits in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.

After sixteen months of litigation, Singleton's case against the Yachtsman Hotel was finally settled out of court in Singleton's favor in October, 2004. The settlement mandated policy changes, discounts, and a monetary settlement for the plaintiff.¹² The settlement allowed the hotel not to openly admit to discrimination during the Black Biker Fest; however, the hotel agreed to provide compensation to the plaintiffs and pay attorneys' fees. Further, the agreement prevented representatives from both sides from further discussion of the settlement with the media. The settlement was reportedly \$1.2 million dollars, which was awarded to the twelve plaintiffs and attorneys and allowed other plaintiffs to sue the hotel once the suits were finalized. The settlement also

⁹ NAACP Files Suits Alleging Race Discrimination in Myrtle Beach, south Carolina by Restaurants, a Hotel and the Police During Black Bike Week.

¹⁰ Bryan Cave, "Pro Bono", <http://www.bryancave.com/bryancave/probono/> [accessed April 23, 2008].

¹¹ Akin Gump Strauss Hauer and Feld, LLP. Pro Bono Policies and Procedures. December 7, 2006. 4 of 21.

¹² *NAACP v. Shawnee Development, Incorporated, General Direct Marketing, Incorporated, d/b/a the Yachtsman Resort Hotel; David Waller in his capacity as V. P. of Marketing and Sales for Yachtsman Resort Hotel; and John Doe, 1-10*, The District Court of South Carolina, Florence Division, May 20, 2003.

provided that fifty-one and one-third percent of the settlement would be divided among the twelve plaintiffs and the Conway Branch of the NAACP and that the remaining funds would be set aside for other guests who stayed at the hotel during any of the Black Bike Fests in 2000, 2001, and 2002.¹³ Plaintiffs Michael and Washica Little commented on the settlement, stating, “We’ve been there for a number of years, and it kept getting worse and worse. I feel like with the hotel settling the way they did, at least it shows there’s something that was wrong. I feel like it increases our chances with the city and the restaurants.”¹⁴

The settlement did not force the Yachtsman to admit to discrimination against hotel guests during the Black Biker Fest. Scholars who commented on the Yachtsman’s settlement reinforced the fact that the hotel imposed discriminatory sanctions during Black Biker Fest for many years. Thus, the hotel was liable. For example, David Larson, a professor and senior fellow at the Hamline University School of Law in Minnesota, made a few interesting points regarding the settlement in his statement:

When it comes to discrimination settlements, it’s really difficult to do comparisons because most of them are confidential. The hotel had a clear case of liability and settled for a notable sum of money considering the hotel is not part of the chain. It’s a significant amount of money, but when you look at the terms of the settlement and look at the length of time being covered and what the potential pool is, it doesn’t look like a bad deal to the hotel.¹⁵

¹³ Emma Rich, NAACP Settles Discrimination Lawsuit with the Yachtsman Resort Hotel in Myrtle Beach Mandating Policy Changes Discounts and a Monetary Settlement, *The Sun News*, 21 October 2004, 1A.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Also, Larson believed that the settlement may have been beneficial to African Americans that would go beyond the Black Biker Fest and the hotel may have saved money and prevented future lawsuits. As a result of the case, the Washington Lawyers Committee awarded Patton Boggs, LLP, a Pro Bono award for its effort in finalizing the Yachtsman case.¹⁶

After the Yachtsman Hotel settlement, Myrtle Beach City Officials were concerned how it would affect other lawsuits against the restaurants and the city. This concern was evident in a statement made by spokesperson Mark Kruea, "The city is absolutely still fighting the charges despite the Yachtsman settlement. I cannot see how it has any effect on the lawsuit against the city."¹⁷ However, the lawsuit did affect Singleton's lawsuit against Myrtle Beach city government because covert racism was proven in the Yachtsman case and upheld by federal courts in South Carolina. Shortly after the Yachtsman settlement, Myrtle Beach attempted to defend the allegations that it and the local restaurants discriminated against the Black Biker Fest over the years. The city's attorneys believed that Singleton and the NAACP were more interested in obtaining profit than righting a wrong.¹⁸ Moreover, Myrtle Beach Attorney Cynthia Graham-Howe filed a motion in court that would force the NAACP to produce documents concerning its economic boycott against South Carolina and its settlement

¹⁶ "Patton, Boggs Receives Prestigious Washington Lawyers Committee Pro Bono Award," June 2005: <http://www.pattonboggs.com/probono/recognition/RecDevDetail.aspx?Publication=18>. [accessed April 11, 2008].

¹⁷ Emma Rich, NAACP Settles Discrimination Lawsuit with the Yachtsman Resort Hotel in Myrtle Beach Mandating Policy Changes Discounts and a Monetary Settlement, *The Sun News*, 21 October 2004, 1A.

¹⁸ Bruce Smith, "City Wants NAACP Documents on Flag Boycott Settlement," May 9, 2005: <http://www.jacksonville.com/apnews/stories/050905/D89VQEM80.shtml> [accessed April 15, 2008].

discussions of discrimination lawsuits against three Myrtle Beach restaurants. Moreover, the motion also asked for copies of settlement agreements when the NAACP obtained monetary relief from national companies, such as Coca-Cola, Texaco, and Abercrombie and Fitch.¹⁹ Conversely, NAACP attorney Paul Hurst stated, “It’s sort of mind-boggling the view we are out to make a profit from the lawsuits. . . It’s so far from the truth, it’s ridiculous.”²⁰ Overall, concerning the motion, he commented, “I’m not surprised because they [the city of Myrtle Beach officials] have to divert attention from the true facts of what they are doing. They are treating African Americans differently. Do they have evidence to support it? They don’t.”²¹ Further, David Larson also supported the plaintiffs and contradicted rumors that the NAACP was only out for monetary gain when he stated that it was obvious that they were not interested in other things besides money. Larson stated, “While they could have held out and gotten more, the settlements are just not about money; it’s about correcting behavior. It’s a public declaration that African American are, in fact, welcome at this hotel.”²²

The Myrtle Beach attorneys mentioned only three restaurants in its motion. These restaurants were J. Edward Flemings’ Great Ribs and More, Greg Norman’s Australian Grill, and Damon’s Grill. However, Singleton’s lawsuits involved at least twenty-eight Grand Strand restaurants.²³ In May 2004, Singleton filed federal civil rights class action

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. 2.

²² Rich, p 2.

²³ Four Myrtle Beach Area Restaurants Sued for Discrimination: NAACP and Several Individuals, Plaintiffs Filed Federal Civil Rights Lawsuits, *NAACP*, 27 May 2004.

lawsuits that involved J. Edward Fleming's restaurants. Fleming owned two restaurants and has always showed disdain against African Americans who patronized his restaurants during Black Biker Fest. Once Fleming was cognizant of the lawsuit, he stated in a *Sun News* press conference, "I think it is ridiculous [the lawsuit]. I think they [NAACP] are racists and they are out of line."²⁴ Further, Fleming denied the allegations that his decision to close the restaurants was racially motivated. He insisted that it was due to difficulty in employees getting to work because of the traffic gridlock during Black Biker Fest. However, his restaurants remained open every day during Harley-Davidson Fest when white bikers were in the city. Also, since 1996, both of his restaurants were closed during Black Biker fest. Since both bike rallies attracted a large amount of participants, it is an assumption that these restaurants should be able to handle and appreciate the high volumes of revenue during both events. Subsequently, covert racism and discrimination must have been the underlying factor for Fleming to close his restaurants during Black Biker Fest.

After almost a year of litigation, J. Edward Fleming decided to settle in April 2005. The NAACP and Fleming both agreed that the ultimate result of the litigation could not be predicted with certainty and the continuation of the litigation would involve substantial legal fees and costs. The meeting between the parties revealed the existence of shared principles and common goals, notwithstanding the existence of evidence that might support the litigation position of each party.²⁵ According to the settlement, Fleming agreed to keep his restaurant open from 3:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. daily during

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Myrtle Beach Settles Discrimination Lawsuit, *NAACP*, 26 April 2005, 1.

Black Biker Fest. Under the terms of the settlement, the defendants must use objective nondiscriminatory standards as to whether or not Edwards, or any other restaurant owned and operated by Fleming, would remain open during the period of special events in the Myrtle Beach area. Special events attended primarily by African Americans must be evaluated in the same manner as events attended primarily by white individuals, and race should have no part in the decision-making process.²⁶

Singleton, the NAACP, and Fleming were satisfied with the settlement. If Fleming resisted and the case had gone to trial, there was a strong possibility that he would have lost the case and would have been forced to pay large sums in legal fees and damages. After the settlement, NAACP interim general counsel Angela Ciccolo stated, "This settlement is a positive sign that all parties, consumers, advocates, and businesses can work together to ensure that the rights of African-American tourists are respected and that their business is welcomed."²⁷ Fleming also agreed to post welcome signs on his marquee encouraging black bikers to dine in his restaurants. Furthermore, the U. S. District Court in Florence, South Carolina reinforced this settlement, which was effective immediately. The terms of the settlement would remain in effect for a period of three years and six months from the approval date.²⁸

Singleton and the NAACP lawsuit (a preliminary injunction) against the city of Myrtle Beach was heard by United States District Court Judge Terry L. Wooten in April, 2005. Again, the major issue in this case involved the city of Myrtle Beach

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

implementing a one-way traffic pattern along Ocean Boulevard during the Black Biker Fest, which Singleton viewed as a discriminatory act. If this was the case, the traffic pattern or any practice of discrimination by a law enforcement agency that received federal funding violated provisions in the Safe Streets Act of 1968²⁹. Most importantly, the traffic pattern would also violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteen Amendment in the United States Constitution, which supports the fact that all persons similarly circumstanced shall be treated alike.³⁰ Conversely, Myrtle Beach city officials argued that the one-way traffic pattern was necessary during Memorial Day weekend and the plan was not racially motivated. Yet, the city allowed a two-way traffic pattern during Harley-Davidson Fest and other times when large crowds of whites visited the city. However, Singleton's attorneys presented experts who testified that there were no significant differences that warranted a change in traffic patterns. For example, retired Myrtle Beach Police Chiefs Willie R. Williams and Mitchell W. Brown asserted:

...the traffic pattern for Black Bikers' Weekend does not achieve the goals of facilitating the free flow of traffic, minimizing gridlock, and providing for public safety. In fact, the traffic pattern exacerbates the traffic problems and gridlock along Ocean Boulevard and Kings Highway, by imposing a one-way traffic flow, restricting the number of opportunities to exit from Ocean Boulevard, and allowing the traffic lights to operate in a normal fashion without active direction by law enforcement. It also creates an environment for motorists-pedestrian interaction, which undermines public safety.³¹

They also added that:

²⁹ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach, Warren Gail and Horry County.

³⁰ Ibid, 6.

³¹ Ibid., 12-13.

The traffic pattern for Harley Week [Harley-Davidson Fest] facilitated a fairly free flow of traffic in both directions along Ocean Boulevard. We have not observed any reason why this traffic pattern could not be used for Black Bikers' Weekend. . . We did not observe any behavior, crowd size, or other basis that warranted the differences in traffic patterns. . . during Black Bikers' Weekend compared to Harley Weekend.³²

Moreover, Myrtle Beach traffic expert, Terry Snow concurred with their statements when he testified that:

. . . during [Black] Biker Weekend and, in addition, during Harley [Davidson] Week and in the major height of the weekend season along Ocean Boulevard, traffic is congested because of cruising activities. . . during all of those events, during Harley [Davidson] Week and [Black] Biker Week, its bumper to bumper traffic. . . There is congestion under any circumstance during the summer months and traffic moves at such a slow rate that you could actually walk faster than your could drive.³³

Also, expert witness Dr. David B. Clarke observed that the one-way traffic pattern during the Black Biker Week greatly restricted the flow of traffic along Ocean Boulevard, which created congestion and contributed to a high level of driver discomfort. Hence, Clarke concluded that he did not observe any reason why the two-way traffic pattern could not be used during Black Bikers Week, since traffic moved much more smoothly during Harley-Davidson Fest. In regards to participants of both biker events, Clarke did not see any difference in behavior that would warrant a change in traffic patterns between the two events.³⁴

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 13.

³⁴ Ibid, 12.

Statements given by a number of Myrtle Beach officials demonstrated that race was discussed and considered when the city made traffic plans for Black Biker Fest. For example, in 1995, police captain Warren Gall explained that the police department should, “. . . be careful about being accused of double standards. We should treat everyone [attending] the [Black Biker] weekend fairly, leaving no perception that we’re altering our approach or enforcement philosophy from [Harley-Davidson Fest held] last weekend. . . .”³⁵ Also, Myrtle Beach City Manager testified that, “The Black Biker Fest tourists wanted to take over the street, to party, to socialize, to dance, to take pictures, you know, and we just couldn’t have that.”³⁶ Further, Myrtle Beach Mayor Mark McBride’s actions and his aforementioned statements further exemplified the possibility that the switch in traffic patterns during Black Bikers Week may have been racially motivated. As Wooten reviewed the evidence to render a judgment, he referred to court cases that addressed the issues in this case. Relative to the traffic patterns, Wooten cited in his decision *Florida State Conference of NAACP Branches v. City of Daytona Beach, Florida*. Similarly, this case involved the city of Daytona altering traffic patterns during Black College Reunion Week in the city. Further, this event started in 1984 as a small gathering of students who attended Florida A&M University in Tallahassee and Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona.³⁷ In this case, a Florida District Court granted the NAACP motion for a preliminary injunction and concluded that the city used a traffic

³⁵ Ibid, 9.

³⁶ Ibid., 10.

³⁷ Andrea Robinson and Knight Rider, “Adams Mark Hotel Settles Two Year Old Racial Discrimination Suit with NAACP, Hotel,” December 4, 2001: http://hotel-online.com/Neo/News/PR2001_4th [accessed December 23, 2001].

plan during the black college event that was not normally used during other events involving large crowds. Hence, the change in traffic plans violated the Equal Protection rights of the reunion participants.³⁸ As far as racial discrimination, Wooten cited *Adarand Constructors v. Peña*, 515 U.S. 200, 227 (1995). In this case, the United States Supreme Court asserted that:

...all governmental action based on race—a group classification long recognized as “in most circumstances irrelevant and therefore prohibited. . . should be subjected to detailed judicial inquiry to ensure that the personal right to equal protection of the laws has not been infringed. . .” [A] free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality should tolerate no retreat from the principle that government may treat people differently because of their race only for the most compelling reasons. Accordingly, we hold today that all racial classifications, imposed by whatever federal, state, or local governmental actor, must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny. In other words, such classifications are constitutional only if they are narrowly tailored measures that further compelling governmental interests.³⁹

As for the Supreme Court’s position in this case, Wooten added that racial characteristics seldom provide a relevant basis for disparate treatment and because classifications based on race are potentially so harmful to the entire body politic, it is essentially important that reasons for any such classification be clearly identified and unquestionably legitimate.⁴⁰ Subsequently, Judge Wooten ruled in Singleton and the NAACP’s favor by granting them their motion for a preliminary injunction. This ruling ordered the City of Myrtle

³⁸ NAACP v. City of Myrtle Beach. 14.

³⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Beach to maintain similar traffic patterns during both bike festivals.⁴¹ In essence, Wooten's judgment proved that Myrtle Beach City Government discriminated against African-Americans bikers for years.

Singleton and Reverend Kenneth Floyd were satisfied with the court's ruling. Floyd stated, "We are satisfied with the settlement and feel things are moving in the right direction to give equal treatment to the participants of both events. We will continue to monitor discriminatory practices in South Carolina."⁴² Angela Ciccolo, NAACP Deputy General Counsel, stated, "The settlement validates Judge Wooten's order by requiring the city to use the same pattern during the height of both weekends. The NAACP is hopeful that this is the final chapter in the lawsuit filed against the city of Myrtle Beach, a major tourist destination in the United States."⁴³ Similarly, NAACP attorney Paul Hurst stated:

It seems like a crazy plan to alter the traffic plans midway through the weekend, but the civil rights group was pleased with the settlement. Most importantly, the city recognized that even the perception of differential treatment based on race is wrong. In this suit, what we were looking for was equal treatment for African Americans. We've got that. We've got a traffic plan that does that.⁴⁴

Moreover, to ensure equality of all African-American tourists, Singleton and the NAACP implemented "Operation Bike Week Justice" in Myrtle Beach during Black Biker Fest in May, 2005. Further, he and other NAACP leaders monitored the treatment of

⁴¹ Ibid., 15.

⁴² NAACP Negotiates Settlement in Race Discrimination against City of Myrtle Beach, *NAACP News*, 2 February 2006, 1.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Emma Ritch, Bikers Will Be Riding One Way, *The Sun News*, February 3, 2006, 1A.

participants and asked if anyone received any discriminatory treatment to report it to the Conway branch of the NAACP.⁴⁵

As a result of the case, Myrtle Beach city officials implemented the one-way traffic pattern during Harley-Davidson Fest in 2005. At the same time, the city also anticipated the confusion the one-way pattern would present during Harley-Davidson Fest. For example, Mike Shank, marketing director of Myrtle Beach Harley-Davidson, stated that the last time the one-way pattern was used, the Harley-Davidson's bikes had a tendency to overheat. To possibly correct this problem, Shank added, "I am sure there will be complaints, and it'll be confusing, but at least we know far enough in advance. We have time to prepare and get the word out about it."⁴⁶

In August 2005, Singleton and Myrtle Beach city officials mediated monetary compensation. At that time, the city decided that an out-of-court settlement would save the city a tremendous amount of money in legal fees and damages. Moreover, the city had spent at least 653,000 dollars litigating the case over the years. Subsequently, in February 2006, Myrtle Beach officials agreed to settle the three-year discrimination lawsuit without a monetary settlement.⁴⁷ According to NAACP attorney Michael Narrarre, "The NAACP is not asking the city to admit it discriminated against Black visitors, but the main thing is we're looking for a change in the traffic and policing policies." The settlement mandated the city to use identical traffic patterns from 2:00

⁴⁵ NAACP Pledges to Monitor Strand During Black Bike Fest, *The Sun News*, Harley Week. May 6, 2006. 1A.

⁴⁶ Emma Ritch, Bikers Will Be Riding One Way, 2.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

p.m. to midnight during the three main days of each rally. The city must use directions for the traffic pattern from midnight to 2:00 p.m. and the agreement will expire in 2010.⁴⁸

In November 2005, Mayor McBride lost his bid for re-election as mayor and was replaced by John Rhodes. According to sources, McBride lost in part due to how he and the city treated the Black Biker Fest participants.⁴⁹ After leaving office, McBride expressed his opinion about the city's settlement, although he had no role in it. McBride stated:

I absolutely thought the city settled because I had left office and called the settlement ridiculous. I knew this was coming. I haven't been out of office thirty days, and this is the first step the city takes. I'm the only one who was looking out for the taxpayers. Everybody should be pleased that we settled the case. We don't need to continue to fight the NAACP. It wasn't doing any good for anybody.⁵⁰

Singleton's lawsuits against two restaurants were litigated and settled in early 2006. Again, Singleton alleged that the restaurants discriminated against African Americans based on race by closing during Black Biker Fest. However, they always remained open during Harley-Davidson Fest. Further, after Singleton filed the lawsuits in 2004, these restaurants remained open the following year during the 2005 Black Biker Fest. Hence, Greg Norman's Australian Grill agreed to accept a judgment in favor of Singleton and the NAACP in January 2006. At that time, the restaurant agreed to pay

⁴⁸ United Bikers Forum – The Biker and Motorcycle Forum and Community, TOPIC_ID=8603, p. 2: <http://www.unitedbikers.com/forum/topics.asp> [accessed May 1, 2008].

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Emma Ritch, 1A.

Singleton and the NAACP (or plaintiffs) 100,000 dollars to cover damages and fees.⁵¹

Similarly, Damon's Grill restaurant reached an agreement with the NAACP in March 2006. In the settlement, the restaurant owners committed themselves to not discriminate based on race or color in providing all persons the full and equal enjoyment of goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodation of the restaurants.

Further, Damon's Grill was required to pay 125,000 dollars in damages and agreed to remain open throughout the Black Biker Fest each year.⁵²

⁵¹ NAACP v. Greg Norman Australian Grill and Barefoot Restaurant Concepts. United States District Court, Florence Division. No 4:04-CV-1689-RBH. 31 January 2006.

⁵² Jacob Jordan, Damon Grill Last to Settle in NAACP, AB Bike Fest Lawsuit, *The Sun News*, 25 March 2006, 1A.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

In 1994, Singleton retired from Horry County public school system after thirty years of service. As he reflected on his career, he believed that he made a difference in the lives of students and African Americans in the community. Moreover, he opened doors for other African-American educators when he became the first African American to teach at Myrtle Beach High School.¹ Singleton's parents were deeply religious and fundamental in their beliefs. Singleton commented:

Very early in life, I began to formulate the philosophy that has guided my life; a philosophy that includes the idea that mankind cannot move forward until all people learn to deal with each other without fear of discrimination.²

Further, Singleton maintained that his definition of religion is broader than most people's definition. For example, he even considered the Ku Klux Klan organization a religion. However, Singleton did not believe that African-American churches were

¹ Steve Jones, Singleton Stands Up, Speak Out. *The Sun News*, 5 October 2003, 1A.

² Emma Ritch, Conway NAACP Has a New Leader, *The Sun News*, 6 January 2006, 1A.

active enough in advancing the integration of mankind. Yet, his work with the NAACP over the years closely fit into his beliefs in racial confrontation for progress. The Conway High School Football Boycott, his successful lawsuits, and other events that occurred between 1989 and 1991 completely changed how Singleton viewed the social problems that were described in his sermons and speaking engagements. Further, after 1991, Singleton's oratory reflected social and racial issues in the community and not simply spiritual messages that most members expected to hear on Sundays. Rather, he focused on remedies to reveal possible racism that African Americans were experiencing in the community. Consequently, many of Singleton's members stopped attending church and found other churches to attend on Sundays. Further, some of the church deacons, who were considered leaders and who traditionally worked closely with him in the operation of the church's activities, also turned against him. By 1997, his congregation discussed removing him after thirty-five years of service as the pastor. During that time, Singleton stated firmly that "obtaining social equality was much more important than screaming and shouting every Sunday."³ Cherry Hill Baptist Church did indeed find a new pastor that same year (Reverend James H. Cokley) and gave Singleton a momentous retirement celebration. During the ceremony, members and officers of the church bestowed upon him the honor of Pastor Emeritus of Cherry Hill Baptist Church. He was somewhat bitter after his retirement, but later relieved because he had more time to work with the NAACP on the local, state, and national levels.

Similarly, Singleton's dilemma and his retirement reflected what civil rights activist and minister, Vernon Johns experienced at Dexter Baptist Church in

³ Jones, 1A.

Montgomery, Alabama. Also, Singleton possessed many of the Christian virtues seen in Johns' personality. Vernon Johns was an extremist, militant, arrogant, head strong, and had a burning desire to correct the social problems African Americans faced during their lifetime. In the 1950s, the congregation of Dexter Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama was afraid and accepted the racial status quo. Since Johns was an extremist, he was forced out of Dexter Baptist Church in 1952 and was replaced by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1954.⁴ Further, no animosity existed between King and Johns during the transition. In fact, King admired Johns and was inspired by his ideas. King felt that Johns was a theological genius who had a complex personality and a sense of humor. In King's book, *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, he depicted Johns' personality when he wrote:

Vernon Johns was a brilliant preacher with a creative mind and an incredible retentive memory. . .fearless man who never allowed injustice to come to his attention without speaking out against it. With every passing Sunday, he did not lash out against complacency. He often chided the congregation for sitting up so proudly with their academic degrees, and yet lacking the very thing the degrees should confer, that is, self respect. One of his basic theses was that any individual who is submitted willingly to injustice did not really deserve more justice.⁵

After Singleton's retirement from the ministry, various organizations called upon him to provide leadership to different causes, many of which were far beyond the call of duty. Currently, he patrols African-American communities in high crime areas to ensure that there are no incidents of police brutality in Conway. Furthermore, he assists and

⁴ Patrick L. Cooney and Henry W. Powell, "The Life and Times of the Prophet Vernon Johns: Father of the Civil Rights Movement," [1998, Chapter 26] <http://www.vernonjohns.org/tca1001/vjtofc.html> [accessed July 21, 2005].

⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, (New York: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1958), 38.

defends many African Americans in Horry County with their personal problems, such as discrimination on their jobs and supports individuals running for political office. Clearly, he is concerned with the well-being of African Americans in Horry County regardless of their positions and socio-economic status.

In January 2005, Singleton relinquished the position of President of the Conway Chapter of the NAACP. He led the organization for more than twenty-four years. At age seventy-two, he turned the helm over to Vice President and his protégé, Reverend Kenneth Floyd. However, Singleton continues to participate in an advisory capacity. Other members pondered whether the chapter would continue to be successful without Singleton as their leader. Ultimately, they believed that the organization would retain its national status and recognition with the leadership change and the Conway branch of the NAACP developed a partnership with the Myrtle Beach chapter to collectively attack local issues.⁶ Over the years, Singleton and Floyd addressed many racial issues in Horry County. More importantly, Singleton had the utmost faith in Floyd's leadership abilities and was confident that he would continue to implement the organization's vision. Singleton also relinquished his seat on the National Board of the NAACP, a position he held for more than fifteen years.

Singleton, as a civil rights leader, accumulated a number of enemies in his quest to correct racial injustice and to reveal hidden racism in Horry County. He argued with public officials, sued them, demonstrated against them, and challenged public policies throughout the county and other areas of South Carolina. He was described as radical, forceful, demanding, and a trouble maker. For example, South Carolina State

⁶ Ritch, 1A.

Representative, Liston Barfield stated, “Singleton makes it tougher for African Americans because he’s always stirring up trouble.”⁷ Further, Barfield’s disdain for Singleton caused him to write to the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP requesting that Singleton be removed as President of the Conway Branch of the NAACP, a request that was never granted. John Dawsey, Superintendent of the Horry County School System, also criticized Singleton’s tactics. Dawsey was Superintendent when Singleton was terminated as a teacher in 1989. Barfield and Dawsey felt that in order to improve race relations, calm, private discussions among community leaders worked better than lawsuits, threats, and demonstrations. In 2002, Dawsey commented that Singleton walked on the edge as far as he can go.⁸ Conversely, Singleton believed that Superintendent Dawsey knew all along that the School Board would not be able to produce adequate proof to uphold his termination. Further, he believed the Board went through with the termination just to embarrass him and remind African-American leaders that a “proper place” still existed, even in 1989.⁹

In more recent years, Singleton and other NAACP officials have been called racists. However, Singleton has stated:

Most people would be surprised to learn that he thinks all human beings, regardless of their views on race relations, deserve God’s grace. Also, the worst advice anyone could give to me is to keep my mouth shut. I’m like an old refrigerator without a functioning engine...I don’t keep anything.¹⁰

⁷ Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II, interview by author, Conway, SC, January 15, 2007.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II, interview by author, Conway, SC, January 15, 2007.

¹⁰ Ritch, 1A.

As a result of Singleton's work as a civil rights advocate, his supporters recommended to the South Carolina State University Board of Trustees to bestow an Honorary Doctor of Laws upon Singleton in 1992. Unfortunately, this honorary degree was never given to Singleton because board members felt that he was too radical in his civil rights activities. Nevertheless, Singleton accumulated many awards since his arrival in Horry County in 1965 (see Appendix 17 for a copy of Singleton's resumé). However, the Horry County City Council adopted a resolution in tribute to honor and recognize Singleton's outstanding civic and community contributions, services, and dedicated leadership in religion, and community activities. The Council expressed their appreciation to Singleton for making his community a better place to live.¹¹ (see Appendix 14 for the Horry County City Council Resolution.).

This historical narrative has presented a relatively detailed assessment of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II as an educator, minister, and civil rights activist in Horry County, South Carolina. Further, Singleton exposed many incidents of individual and institutional racism, not only in Horry County, but also in other areas of South Carolina. Upon his arrival in 1965 in Horry County as a young minister, Singleton immediately associated himself with current local, older African-American leaders. He embraced the social issues at hand in the community. Between 1965 and 1970, the desegregation of public schools was the major task for these leaders. The demands of African-American leaders were not met by the Horry County School Board. However, Singleton and other leaders proved to the white power structure that they were dedicated advocates in seeking and challenging any examples of racism in Horry County.

¹¹ *State of South Carolina County of Horry Resolution*, June 1991, Horry City Council, 1.

Singleton's worldview concerning racism and the conditions of African Americans did not change over the years. Singleton was born and raised in Edgefield County at the height of racial discrimination and segregation. The history of the county demonstrated that it was one of the most violent and racist counties in South Carolina. As a youth, Singleton witnessed individual and institutional racism, such as police brutality, that was inflicted on many African Americans during that period. As a young man, Singleton prepared himself for the work for which he was dedicated. His dedication included the ministry and the teaching profession.

While in college in the 1950s, Singleton joined the Columbia Chapter of the NAACP. Once he arrived in Horry County, he joined the Conway Branch of the NAACP and became its president in 1983. An event that deeply disturbed Singleton was the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 4, 1968. Many African-American leaders throughout the country were equally distraught with King's demise. Despite the violence that occurred in particularly in major cities, Singleton and other Horry County leaders made certain that no acts of retaliation took place in the county. These leaders conducted meetings with concerned African-American residents at their respective churches. In addition, they arranged transportation for Horry County residents to travel to King's funeral in Atlanta, Georgia.¹²

The Conway High School Football Boycott served as a watershed in Singleton's life and career as a civil right activist. He offered advice to the protesting players in his capacity as President of the Conway Branch of the NAACP. Subsequently, he was suspended after delivering a televised speech and later terminated as a teacher for the

¹² Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II, interview by author, Conway, SC, January 15, 2007.

Horry County Public School Board. Further, Singleton sued the Board with the assistance of the state and national chapters of the NAACP. As a result, Singleton won his lawsuit and returned to his job in 1991. What is most significant is that this incident propelled Singleton as a virtually unknown local leader to one whose actions gained national attention. Moreover, this event compelled national NAACP officials to consider Singleton in representing South Carolina as a national board member. As the sole national board member representing South Carolina, Singleton worked closely with state and national NAACP leaders in demanding that the Governor of South Carolina pass a bill to remove the confederate flag that was accomplished. Similarly, Singleton was successful in investigating and revealing examples of hidden racism in Myrtle Beach and Horry County. Favorable judgments were upheld against Myrtle Beach City government and its hospitality industry.

The following research questions were explored in this historical narrative:

1. In what ways did individual and institutional racism influence the life and works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II during the post-Civil Rights era?
2. What impact do the past and present works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II have on the eradication of racism from 1965 to 2005?
3. What influence do the past and present works of Reverend H. H. Singleton, II have on fostering interracial cooperation for the past 40 years in Horry County, South Carolina?

Singleton's work over the years has eradicated and fostered interracial cooperation among the races. For example, between 1970 and 1989 there were no significant incidents of racism or discrimination in Horry County or at least none that

were noted and gained local media attention. However, Singleton's success in the courts in 1991 demonstrated to the white power structure that African Americans in Horry County would not tolerate any acts of racism or discrimination. Moreover, whites learned that discrimination cost thousands dollars in damages and other court fees.

Reflecting on his life, Singleton believed that he had a positive impact on past interracial cooperation although it was slow in revealing itself. Moreover, others believed he had produced some improvements in race relations in Horry County. For example, African-American community activist Ed Wilson, declared, "It would be hard for people to look back on Singleton's time in Horry County and say it has been a life without measure."¹³ Horry County administrator Danny Knight, who is white and once maintained that very little progress had been made concerning racial equality in county, commented, "I think we can say that our community is a better community because of the activities of Rev. H. H. Singleton, II. Conway officials recognized that he was going to ask the questions and demand numbers."¹⁴ Wilson and Knight are just two people among many who believed Singleton did indeed impact race relations in Horry County.

According to *Webster's New World Dictionary*, a warrior is defined as a person experienced with conflict. A warrior is associated with war, soldiers, and possibly death. However, there is a large distinction between the warrior's idea of aggressors conquering others and that of the warrior who risks all to preserve the life and liberty of his family and community. The warrior is one who fights for equal rights and social equality

¹³ Jones, 1A.

¹⁴ Ibid.

throughout history.¹⁵ In this historical narrative, warriors are men and women who participated in the civil rights movement and its aftermath. These warriors are individuals who voluntarily surrender anonymity and safety as they endure beatings, prison, and possible death with no armor except their good will and outrage at injustice in the affirmation of their rights.¹⁶ This research revealed that these “warriors” of the past and present possess several common characteristics. First, they all experience some form of individual racism and fear God. Second, they possess exceptional leadership skills. Third, they are committed to bringing about social change and dedicating their lives to causes. Finally, they are willing to lay down their lives for the same purpose. Similarly, Martin Luther King, Jr. has been used as an example of such a warrior. However, there are countless others who contribute and dedicate their lives to civil rights. Hence, Singleton is one of these warriors.

Singleton’s life has been filled with conflict for the last forty-two years in Horry County. This narrative has illustrated events in Singleton’s life that reached media attention in his crusade to bring about social change. However, Singleton’s life and his family’s lives have been threatened. His automobiles and business were vandalized. The Ku Klux Klan and other subversive organizations allegedly burned crosses in front of his church and home. African-American leaders like Singleton accumulate enemies who make it more difficult to live a normal life. Further, he has provided monetary assistance to African Americans from alcoholics and needy individuals to professionals who were victimized by Horry County’s white power structure.

¹⁵ *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th Edition. (Massachusetts: Webster’s, Incorporated, USA 2001).

¹⁶ Jim Peppler, “King Legacy Requires Warriors of Affirmation,” <http://www.newsday.com/> [accessed April 7, 2007].

Today, at age seventy-five, Singleton maintains a speaking schedule and sets appointments to assist both African-American and white communities in Horry County. Since the aftermath of the Football Boycott, Singleton's paradigm and his attitude toward whites have shifted. Since his retirement from public life, he believes African Americans and whites must communicate and work toward mutual cooperation. Like Singleton, Martin Luther King Jr., realized that racial equality was essential to racial progress in the 1960's. For example, when King rejected the Black Nationalist's premise of living separate as races when he stated, "There is no separate Black path to power and fulfillment, short of social disaster, that does not share that power with Black aspirations for freedom and human dignity. We are bound together in a single garment of destiny."¹⁷ Similarly, Singleton stated that one of his goals as a civil rights leader was also to bring the "human family together in the context of brotherhood and sisterhood."¹⁸

Singleton and King also shared the same vision regarding issues that the church must address. As early as 1952, King wrote, "Too often the church has talked about a future good over yonder, totally forgetting the present evil over here."¹⁹ Thus, King believed that true Christianity is practiced through the work of social justice. Singleton's sermons included social issues that were more prophetic and less religious as he moved away from topics that dealt with comfort and tradition. Singleton still believes that religion is the zenith for social improvement and that it is a social entity, and the two

¹⁷ Charles DeBenedetti, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Class of Nonviolence," Lesson Four, Essay One. <http://www.salsa.net/peace/conv/8weekconv4-1.html> [accessed April 18, 2007].

¹⁸ Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II, interview by author, Conway, SC, January 15, 2007.

¹⁹ Mathal Chakko Kuruville, "Writings Show King as Liberal Christian, Rejecting Liberalism," www.sfgate.com www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a2007/01/15/MNGHJNIR631.DTL [accessed April 17, 2007].

cannot be separated. Thus, the church must address social problems if they wish for their members to prosper.²⁰ The most obvious finding to emerge from this narrative is that Singleton's life and work in the post-civil rights movement has made a contribution not only to unwritten history, but also to leadership, fatherhood, family, and community. Regarding the unwritten history, this narrative presents the first biographical history on the life and contributions of Singleton in revealing and investigating aspects of racism in Horry County, South Carolina. Similarly, it adds to and illustrates race relations and conflict in the history of African Americans in Horry County, South Carolina. Hence, it is clear that this work is significant because it presents new written history made by a "not so known" civil rights advocate, Rev. H. H. Singleton, II.

This research also contributes to the history and literature on African-American leadership. Singleton has been considered one of the most influential African-American leaders in Horry County. Moreover, after the "spring board" of events that occurred in his life between 1989 and 1992, Singleton eventually became an infamous African-American leader throughout South Carolina and eventually the entire nation. Furthermore, his leadership style has also been emulated by other rising civil rights activists, such as the Rev. Kenneth E. Floyd, who replaced Singleton as president of the local NAACP and Singleton's youngest son, Dr. Harry H. Singleton, III, who is currently an ordained minister, leader, and a professor of religion at Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina.

This narrative also contributes to literature on fatherhood and family because Singleton II has been and is still today, an outstanding father. Like other civil rights

²⁰ Reverend Harry H. Singleton, II, interview by author, Conway, SC, January 15, 2007.

activists of the past, Singleton was too preoccupied at the height of his social activism to spend a lot of time with his children. However, he still found time to teach and guide. He stressed the importance of education and instilled in each of his five children that a college education laid before them when they completed high school. Singleton II and his wife managed to provide all of his children with a college education, which is considered remarkable since most of his siblings never finished high school. However, his brother Jesse Singleton managed to receive his high school equivalent in 1968 at the age of forty-six. Further, Jesse Singleton and his wife Emma also educated their four children, and one became the first medical doctor in the Singleton family (Dr. Gregory Singleton). Dr. Singleton currently practices in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

H. H. Singleton, II was not only a good father to his children, but also to other children in the community. He often gave young people much-needed advice. Singleton exuded pride in teaching young people and possibly impacted their lives forever. He was recognized in his community and expressed how he felt about children (see Appendix 16 for a photograph of Singleton with his children).

Finally, Singleton influenced the Conway community as well as others throughout Horry County in a positive way. As demonstrated in this narrative, Singleton improved race relations in Horry County because he unveiled covert racism being perpetrated by individuals or governmental entities in Horry County, South Carolina. As a result of Singleton's work, the African-American community and other minorities were encouraged to stand up for equal rights and be respected by all the white community.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Despite the fact that this narrative has accomplished its objectives, further study in this dilemma concerning racism in South Carolina is strongly suggested. For example, the reality of retaining the Confederate Flag is still a debate in South Carolina. Most South Carolinians still display the “rebel” flag on their personal property despite the complaints of African Americans and lawsuits of the NAACP. Also, as of December 2005, the Southern Poverty Center reported that South Carolina contained more hate groups per square mile than any other state.²¹ Furthermore, many of these hate groups have the support of South Carolina political leaders.

This research has opened up many other areas and issues to be further explored. Racism and race relations appear to still be a major concern in South Carolina since many white South Carolinians do not demonstrate a willingness to change. Similarly, their desire to maintain their southern heritage evidently includes their prevalent racist attitudes that should be in the past. Hence, covert racism and discrimination continue to be concerns for African-American leaders in South Carolina. Moreover, Singleton further reinforced this reality when he commented in 2003, “There will always be a place for civil rights activists, whether for Indians, African Americans, cats, or tree huggers.”²² In essence, the issue of covert racism will continue to be addressed, particularly if African Americans and others are to obtain respect and racial equality--clearly, two rights they have earned and to which they are entitled.

²¹ Charles Haire, “A League of Their Own: South Carolina,” <http://www.metrobeat.net/gbase/wxpedito/content?oid=oid%3A3477> [accessed April 17, 2007].

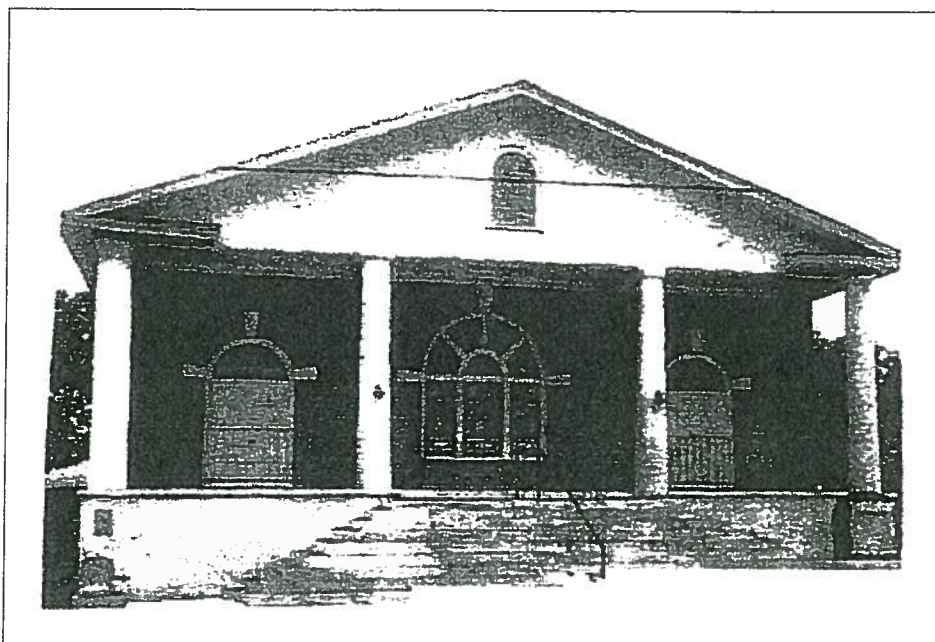
²² Jones, 7A.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1



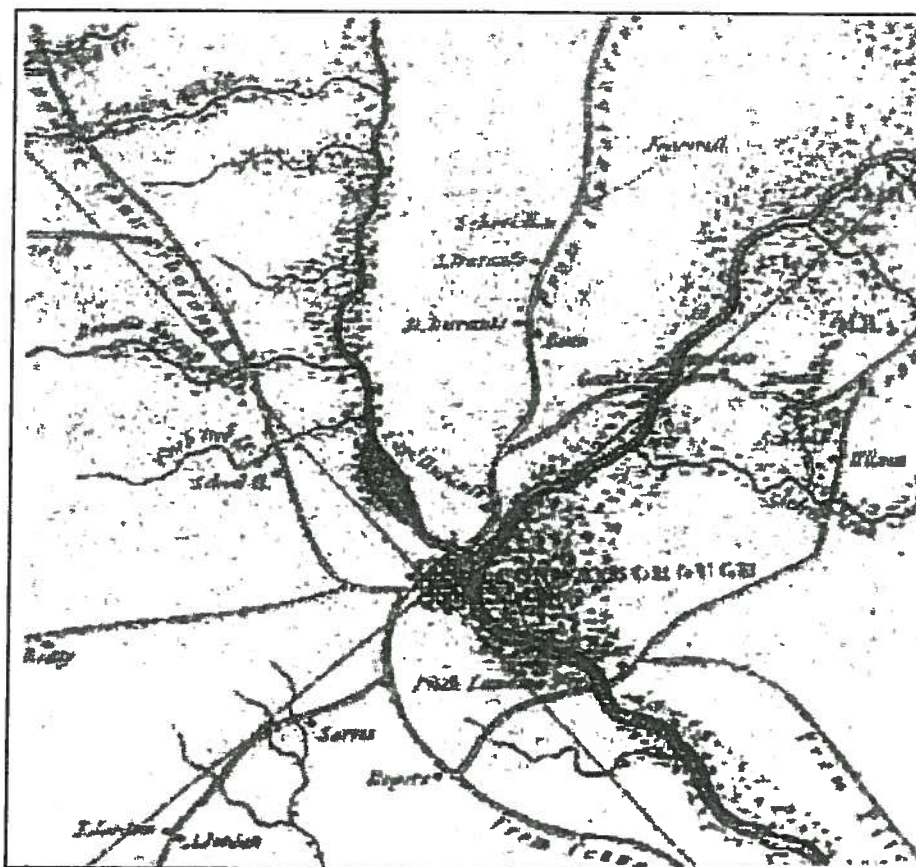
Reverend H. H. Singleton, II in 1967



The Original Cherry Hill Missionary Baptist Church

Source: Singleton's Family Photo Files

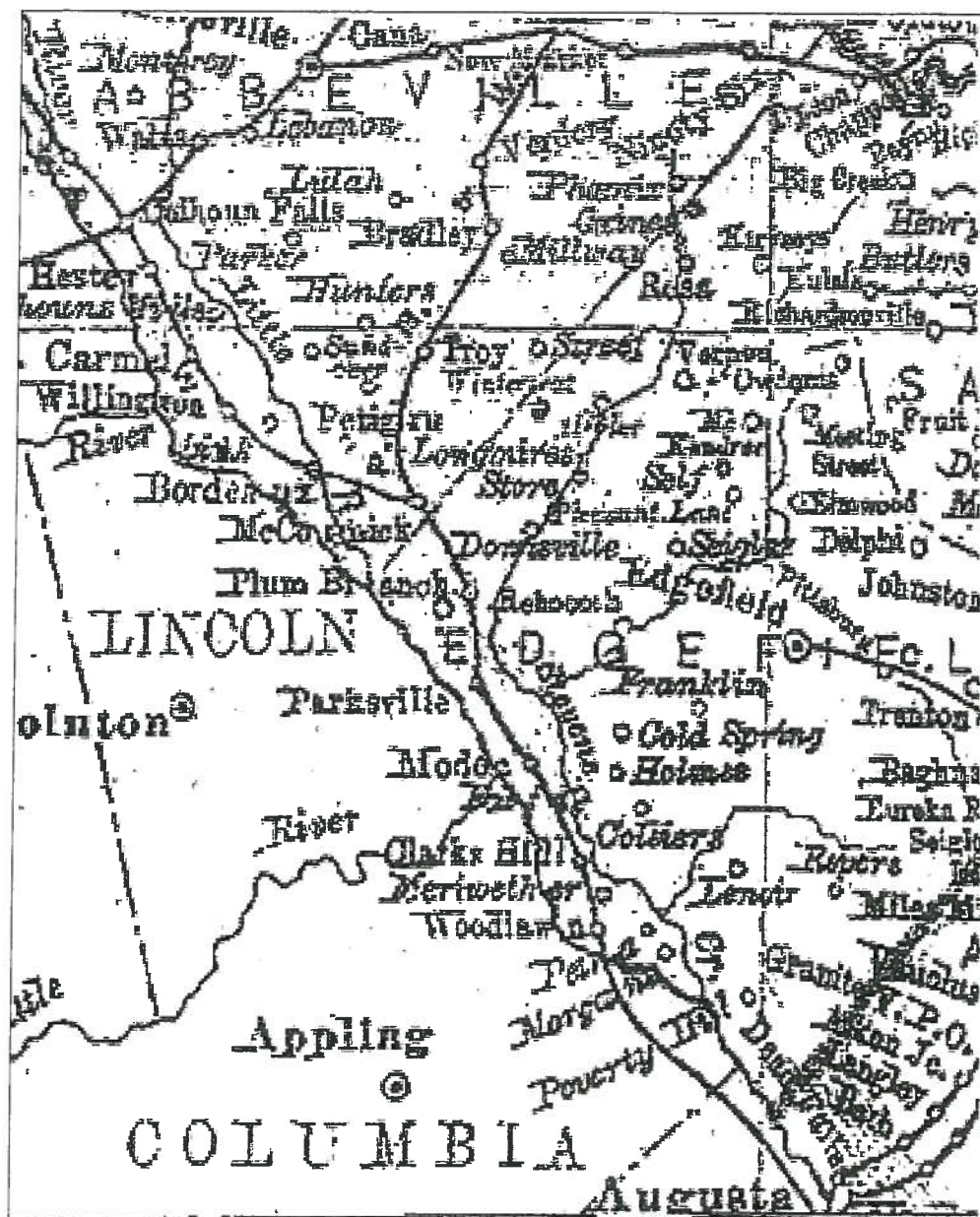
APPENDIX 2



City of Conway Borough in 1825

Source: 1825 U.S. Atlas South Carolina

APPENDIX 3



Edgefield County in 1895

Source: 1895 U.S. Atlas South Carolina

APPENDIX 4



Horry County African American Leaders in 1967
(Singleton is third from the right.)

Source: Singleton's Family Photo Files

APPENDIX 5



Chuck Jordan

Source: Steve Schafer / *The Sun News*

APPENDIX 6

The following are excerpts of Singleton's well-presented speech at his televised press conference on August 22, 1989:

"The crisis that gave birth to this committee and this press conference involves Carlos Hunt, the former varsity quarterback for Conway High School's football team and who is Black. Carlos, as the once insipient [sic] but now salient facts reveal, has been flagrantly and blatantly abused and exploited by the athletic director and head football coach of Conway High School, Mr. Charles "Chuck" Jordan. This obvious and egregious act, seemingly initiated by an inimical Mr. Jordan, was provoked and perpetuated by one, an incredible compulsion for personal vengeance by Mr. Jordan against Carlos that was out of an indebtedness; and two, a callous and racial intolerance that seems to have bordered on racial bigotry.

Carlos, unable to fulfill his obligation in repaying Mr. Jordan as promised, provoked a stern and harsh reprimand from Mr. Jordan. Carlos, who is also a varsity basketball player, was suspended from two basketball games by an irate Mr. Jordan who is not a basketball coach for no apparent violation of any rule or curfew that could have substantiated and validated his suspension that was arrogantly [sic] and arbitrarily executed by Mr. Jordan. It is imputed by Carlos and many others that this suspension was done insolently to abuse Carlos for nonpayment of this indebtedness. Mr. Lewis, the principal of Conway High, was made aware of this disparaging act of suspension, revoked and returned Carlos to the team after the first game of this two-game suspension period.

Mr. Jordan, apparently exasperated by the restoration of Carlos to the team, informed Carlos in May of last year that he would not be permitted to play quarterback on the team the ensuing year of 1989-90, and that Carlos would participate only as a defensive back or a wide receiver or participate none at all. The only reason stated to Carlos was that this change was for the betterment of the team. With this move, Carlos who had led the team to a winning of eight and four record, was not demoted to back-up quarterback, but instead totally removed from the offensive team while being denied the opportunity to compete with other aspirants for the quarterback position, a position in which his proven ability is commensurate with the demands of this position.

The second reason for Carlos' demise as quarterback is a callous racial intolerance inundated by an assiduous racism that has been the characterization of the history of professional, collegiate and grade school football in this nation. This racism has been engraved in the minds of too many persons. The thesis that certain positions--athletic director, head coaches and quarterbacks positions of thought and judgment in football—are indigenous to white males. With this thought in mind and being influenced by white scouts who said that they were interested in Carlos as a defensive back. Mr. Jordan said that he removed Carlos to defense for the betterment of the team and for the enhancement of Carlos -Carlos' enhance for a grant-in-aid scholarship. This is the sheer epitome of a pretext; however, tucked away ambiguously in this whole despicable scene and scheme is a young white quarterback, with less experience and proven record of productivity to better Carlos, who is a junior that needs two years of exposure to the critical eyes of college scouts with a propensity for white quarterbacks. This young White quarterback was handled uncompetitive as far as (inaudible).

This incompassion[ate], disfranchising and mental genocide done to this nation that has debilitated and utterly disabled and destroyed the hopes, aspiration, and even the lives of an immeasurable number of African-Americans and other minorities in this nation. Yes, this conference was called to articulate vociferously that we intended to restore an agile, competent and talented Carlos Hunt to his position of quarterback and more. We are here to stand undauntedly for our dignity, self-respect of others, for the advantage of all people in a fair and equitable way, and all other travesties of justice that inhibits universal togetherness and brotherly love. Yes, let it go forth from this hallowed spot that we will stand in protest of this gross injustice meted to Carlos and to all of us until the just and satisfactory resolve becomes a reality."

Source: Harry H. Singleton V. Horry County School District
C/A no. 4:89- 2219- 15B, (1991)

APPENDIX 7



The Rev. H. H. Singleton, II

Singleton, age 57, speaking at his televised press conference August 22, 1989

Source: Steve Schafer / *The Sun News*

APPENDIX 8

MINUTES OF Horry County Board of Education

August 25, 1989

2:50 P. M.

Executive Session

An executive session of the Horry County Board of Education was held Friday, August 25, 1989, at 2:50 P. M. in the district office building. The following were present: Henry W. Marlowe, Dorothy Chandler, Dr. James E. Dunn, Richard E. Heath, Terry Rucks, Richard Jordan, board members (absent was Franklin C. Blanton); John W. Dawsey, Superintendent; Bruce E. Davis, board attorney; Irma B. Barker, secretary.

CONWAY HIGH FOOTBALL PROGRAM: Mr. Dawsey reported on the problems with the football program at Conway High School and the boycott by football players. This had occurred as a result of the coach having assigned a player, Carlos Hunt, to a position other than quarterback.

R.H. SINGLETON:

Mr. Dawsey and Attorney Davis advised that they had worked all morning on this matter, and the involvement of H. H. Singleton, a teacher at Conway Middle School and President of the Cororay Chapter of the NAACP. They felt that the players are being coerced into this boycott, and briefed the board on what had transpired during the last two days.

Mr. Dawsey said there are strong feelings in the community that Mr. Singleton should be fired immediately. He is causing problems at Conway Middle School between faculty members, and it is possible there will be problems at Conway High School on Monday. He said that security had been obtained for the football game this evening.

Attorney Davis and Mr. Dawsey advised that they did not feel they have enough concrete evidence today to fire Mr. Singleton; however, they are working on getting additional information which will be concrete. They felt they need additional time to acquire this information and to develop solid evidence for the basis for termination.

Attorney Davis shared general information regarding the laws regarding situations of this time, and pointed out the necessity of having appropriate evidence in this case.

Mr. Marlowe reminded board members that all discussions at this time should remain confidential, and no statements are to be made to anyone regarding this matter. He pointed out that this could jeopardize their being in a position so that they would not be able to hear this matter should it reach that point.

Mr. Dawsey said that he would be prepared for whatever happens on Monday, and that all precautions necessary are being taken for the welfare of students.

OPEN SESSION: Mr. Bucks made a motion that the board enter open session, it was seconded by Mrs. Chandler, and carried unanimously.

ADJOURNMENT: Mr. Heath made a motion that the meeting adjourn, it was seconded by Dr. Dunn, and carried unanimously. The meeting adjourned at 3:35 P. M. Henry W. Marlowe, Chairman

Horry County Board of Education

Approved _____ 1989

Respectfully submitted,

John W. Dawsey, Secretary Horry County
Board of Education

Source: Horry County Board of Education

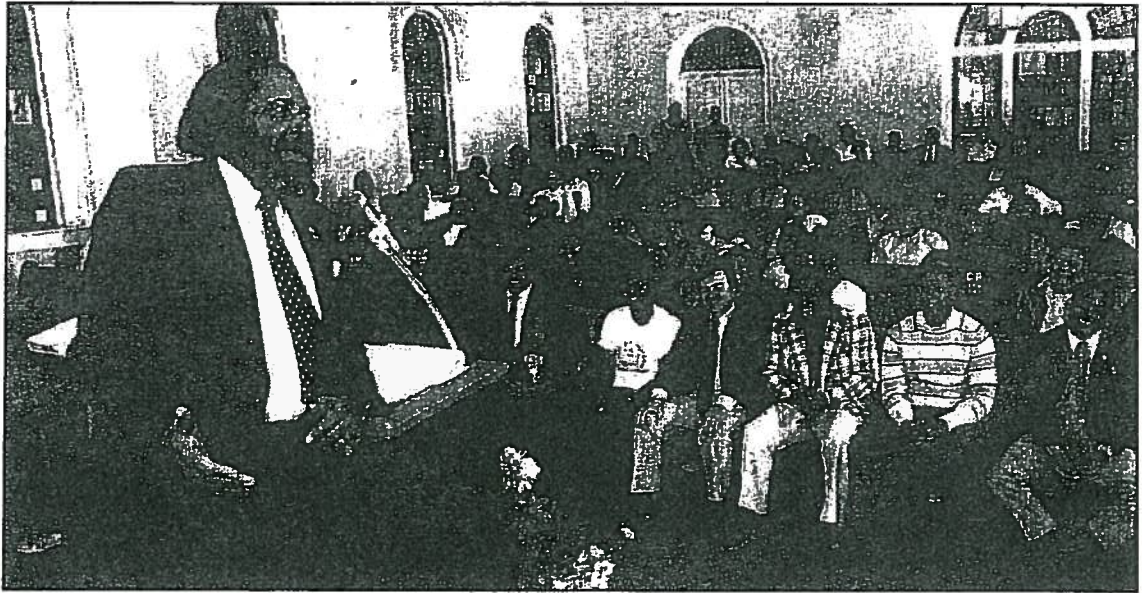
APPENDIX 9



In a news conference outside Cherry Hill Baptist Church in Conway on August 30, 1989, the Rev H. H. Singleton, II, surrounded by his supporters, announces that he was being suspended from his teaching position at Conway Middle School.

Source: Steve Shafer / *The Sun News*

APPENDIX 10



Singleton addresses the African-American Community during the Football Boycott in 1989

Source: Hank Hersh, "Choosing Sides," *Sports Illustrated*.

APPENDIX 11



Singleton and other NAACP Leaders Marching in Protest
September 8, 1989

Source: Chris German / *The Sun News*

APPENDIX 12



Conway Protest Draws 1,000 Demonstrators.
September 8, 1989

Pat Butler / *The Sun News*

APPENDIX 13

Yachtsman Resort Hotel's Memorial Day Guest Contract

1. All guests must be at least 22 years of age (unless accompanied by a parent).
2. Maximum of two Parking Passes per room for two vehicles (vehicles include cars, trailers, motorcycles). No motor home parking is available. The parking lot is on a first come, first served basis. There is no guarantee that you will have a parking spot in our garage and/or parking lots. Cars/trailers/motorcycles not registered or without a parking pass will be towed at the owner's expense.
3. All guests will be required to have Yachtsman identification card. Guests must have these at all times. Anyone without registered guest identification will not be permitted on our property (10 p.m. - 10 a.m.).
4. No more than two non-registered guests are permitted in your room from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.
5. No visiting guests allowed in your room from 10 p.m. to 10 a.m. No more than four registered guest allowed in your room.
6. No refunds for early departures.
7. Balance of room, regardless of payment type is due one month prior to arrival or subject to automatic cancellation.
8. If paying by credit card, no multiple rooms on one card. If paying by money order or cashier's check, payment must be received within 14 days of making the reservation for the first night's deposit plus \$50.00 security deposit or subject to cancellation. Security deposits paid in cash will be mailed back after check out.
9. No shouting off balcony or from balcony to balcony.
10. No articles will be thrown off the balcony or from balcony to balcony.
11. No towels or clothing are to be hanging from balcony.
12. No feeding of sea gulls from balcony.
13. No shouting or loitering in hallways or balconies.
14. No additional or substitute guest can be added to the Guest Contract after it has been submitted to the hotel, i.e., if one of the guests on the contract cannot make the trip, a substitute cannot be added.
15. No glass on pool decks or in any area of the property.
16. No profanity on the premises.
17. No resort linen, towels, or pillows are to be taken to the beach.
18. No hot-rodding in parking lots. No skateboarding on property.
19. No grill cooking on balconies.
20. No climbing over balconies or from rooms.
21. Check-out time is 10 a.m. and is strictly enforced.
22. All dirty dishes are to be washed every day and at check-out.
23. Pools close at 11 p.m. No swimming allowed after 11 p.m.

24. No parties to be held in rooms.
25. Parking areas in front of the north and south towers are 15 minutes unloading zones. Violators will be towed at the owner's expense.
26. No radios or stereos are to be louder than normal TV setting when being played in rooms.
27. No pets of any kind allowed in rooms.
28. Guests are responsible for behavior and actions of all persons in the room.
29. All stairwells are off limits with the exception of an emergency.
30. The pulling of a fire alarm is a criminal offense and any and all persons responsible will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.
31. No alcohol use by minors.
32. Rooms must be kept neat and orderly daily.
33. If one person in the room does not comply with any of our rules, including outside guests, everyone registered in that room will suffer the same consequences.
34. A copy of each guest's photo ID (valid driver's license) must accompany this contract.

Source: NAACP, Inc. v. Shawnee Development and the Yachtsman Resort Hotel. United States District Court for the District of South Carolina, Florence Division (2003).

APPENDIX 14

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA)	
COUNTY OF HORRY)	RESOLUTION
<p>WHEREAS, the County Council of the County of Horry, South Carolina, recognizes that community leaders are an integral and vital part of our cities and County; and</p> <p>WHEREAS, the County Council of Horry County would like to pay tribute and honor to Reverend M. K. Singleton of Conway, South Carolina, for his outstanding community service and his dedicated leadership in church, civic and community activities.</p> <p>BE IT RESOLVED, that the Horry County Council commends and expresses their appreciation and recognition of the efforts, works and deeds of Reverend M. K. Singleton to make his community a better place in which to live.</p> <p>DONE, by Council duly assembled in meeting on June 4, 1991, A. D.</p>		
<p>HORRY COUNTY COUNCIL</p> <p><u>Paul E. Creel</u> Paul E. Creel, Chairman</p>		
<u>James R. Frazier</u> James R. Frazier, Vice Chairman	<u>Ray Williams, Jr.</u> Ray Williams, Jr., Council Member	
<u>Robert V. Smith</u> Robert V. Smith, Council Member	<u>Crayton Register</u> Crayton Register, Council Member	
<u>Dwight Eickley</u> Dwight Eickley, Council Member	<u>James McDaniel</u> James McDaniel, Council Member	
<u>John Urban</u> John Urban, Council Member	<u>Larry Clewis</u> Larry Clewis, Council Member	
<u>W. Paul Prince</u> W. Paul Prince, Council Member	<u>Johnny Shelley</u> Johnny Shelley, Council Member	
ATTEST: <u>Gladys A. Allen</u> Gladys A. Allen, Clerk to Council	<u>Steve Dawsey</u> Steve Dawsey, Council Member	

Horry County City Council Resolution
June 4, 1991

APPENDIX 15

The Rev. H. H. Singleton II**Timeline**

January 29, 1932- Born in Edgefield County, South Carolina

1964- Moved to Horry County to become pastor of Cherry Hill Baptist Church in Conway

1966- Elected chairman of the Conway branch of the NAACP; Became spokesman for football players boycotting at Conway High School; fired from teaching job at Conway Middle School.

1991- Reinstated as teacher after court ruled in his favor over the firing

1993- Questioned hiring policies of Horry County Schools

1993- Protested against privatization of Horry County maintenance garage.

1994- Retired from teaching after 30 years

1996- Accused of Conway of racial bigotry in a drug sting

1997- Retired as Cherry Hill pastor but remained pastor emeritus

1997- Questioned deaths of black suspects who died while in custody of Myrtle Beach police.

1998- Called for resignations of Myrtle Beach Mayor Mark McBride and Councilman Wayne Gray after they fought during a City Council meeting.

1999- Joined call for tourism boycott of South Carolina because of Confederate flag atop the Statehouse.

2000- Asked the U. S. Justice Department to investigate complaints of racial treatment of people attending Atlantic Beach Bike fest.

2002- Joined "border patrols" at S.C. Welcome Center on U.S. 17 in protest of Confederate flag flying on Statehouse grounds.

2003- Helped NAACP in its decision to file lawsuits against Horry County, Myrtle Beach and the Yachtsman Resort Hotel.

2004- The Yachtsman Hotel settles out of court.

2005- Flemming's Restaurant Settles Out of Court.

2006- United States District Court Judge Terry Wooten ruled that the city of Myrtle Beach discriminated against African Americans. The city settled with the NAACP.

2006- In March 2006, Damon's Grill finally settles with the NAACP.

Source: *The Sun News*, October 5, 2003

APPENDIX 16



In 2003, the Rev. H. H. Singleton, II gives a high-five to 8-year-old Said Vereen and other children of Cherry Hill Apartments in Conway. Singleton leads the Conway chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Source: *The Sun News* File Photos

APPENDIX 17

Resume of Harry Henry Singleton, II

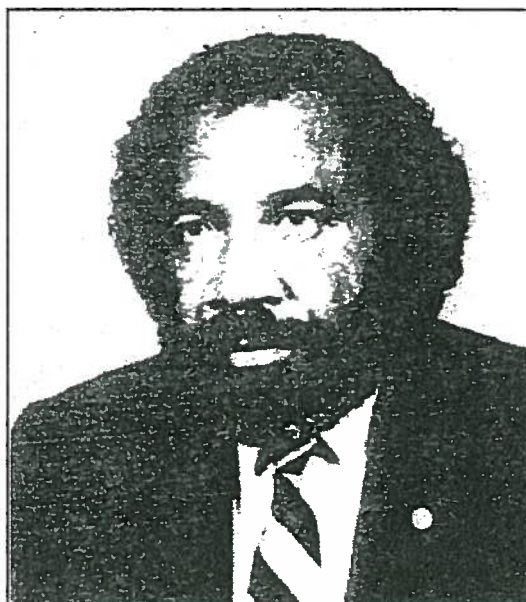
PERSONAL

Born on January 29, 1932 in Edgefield, South Carolina to Harry Henry Singleton, Sr. and India Singleton.

MAJOR QUALIFICATIONS

A former Science Institute student of distinction at South Carolina State College in 1962 and 1963.

A resident and citizen of the State of South Carolina with distinguished service to the community and the State of South Carolina in the teaching of youth.



EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts Degree in Psychology and a minor in Biology from Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina in 1959.

Studied Theology, J. J. Storks School of Theology, Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina in 1955 and 1956.

Studied Theology, Dickerson School of Theology. Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina in 1955 and 1956.

Studied Science, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina in 1982. Studied Science, Coastal Carolina College, Conway, South Carolina in 1987.

Attended Science Institutes, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina in 1962 and 1963.

TEACHING EXPERIENCES

Taught Earth Science at the following public schools:

- Johnakin High School, Marion, South Carolina, from 1959 to 1965
- Chestnut High School, North Myrtle Beach, South Carolina from 1965-1968
- Myrtle Beach High School, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina from 1968-197
- Myrtle Beach Middle School, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina from 1978-1979
- Conway Middle School Conway, South Carolina from 1979 to the present

OTHER EXPERIENCES

Pastorates:

Pastor of Springfield Baptist Church, Greenwood, South Carolina, 1955-1961

Pastor of First Baptist Church, North Augusta, South Carolina, 1959-1961

Pastor of Silent Grove Baptist Church, Loris, South Carolina, 1961-1964

Pastor of Hill Chapel Baptist Church, Nichols, South Carolina, 1962-1964

Pastor of Cherry Hill Baptist Church, Conway, South Carolina, 1964 to present

Housing:

Established and organized Cherry Hill Apartments, Inc., Conway, South Carolina in 1967 to provide fifty housing units for underprivileged people to receive rent supplements from Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The fund was established because a Cherry Hill Baptist Church member's daughter was killed when a chimney, from a dilapidated house, fell on her.

Established and organized D & S Enterprise, Conway, South Carolina in 1978. This enterprise was created to assist poor and underprivileged tenants that were evicted.

Providing Employment:

- Established and organized Singleton's Texaco Service Station in the 1970s to provide employment to several citizens of Conway, South Carolina.
- Insurance Salesman with Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1973-1978.
- Represented poor and underprivileged people at the County jail, before boards, commissions, County Council, school boards, and magistrates.
- Counseled church members, people of the community, and students when they were in trouble.
- Established and organized the "Stay in School" program in 1983 for Horry County, South Carolina, through the South Carolina Branch of the NAACP.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Second Vice President of the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP

Chairman of the Education Committee of the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP

President of the Conway, South Carolina Branch of the NAACP

Vice Chairman of the Religious Affairs Committee of the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP

Member of the Education and Legal Defense Board of the NAACP, South Carolina Conference

Vice Chairman, Kingston Lake Executive Board, Kingston Lake Baptist Association, Horry County, South Carolina

Former Member of the Social Action Committee, National Baptist Convention of America
Chairman of the Minister Ordaining Council, Kingston Lake Baptist Association, Horry County, South Carolina

Member and Consultant to the Pastor's Conference, Kingston Lake Baptist Association, Horry County, South Carolina

Member of the Pastor's Conference, National Baptist Convention of America Member of the Horry County Education Association, Horry County, South Carolina

Member of the South Carolina Teachers' Association, Columbia, South Carolina

Member of the National Teachers' Association President of the National Teachers' Association

President, Board of Directors, Cherry Hill Apartments, Inc., Conway, South Carolina, 1967 to present

AWARDS AND HONORS

Outstanding Community Service, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., Conway Alumni Chapter, 1985

Outstanding Leadership Rendered to Horry County Black History Cultural Arts Association, Conway, South Carolina, 1985

Citizen of the Year in Horry County, South Carolina, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc, 1985

Outstanding Contribution to the Improvement of Humanity, The Progressive Men and Women Organization of Loris, South Carolina, 1987

Outstanding Leadership and Dedicated Service Rendered to Human Needs, Prince Hail Shriners, 1987

Outstanding Community Service Award, AFL-C10 Local 270, 1987

Valuable Contributions to Humanity in General and to the Black Community in Particular, Positive image, Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, 1987

Leadership in Civil and Human Rights, The South Carolina Education and Missionary Baptist Convention, Columbia, South Carolina

Dedicated and Untiring Services Rendered to Mankind, NAACP, 1988

Outstanding Christian and Community Leadership, Bryant Swamp Baptist Church, Bladenboro, North Carolina, 1988

Dedicated Service to Humanity, Cherry Hill Baptist Church, Conway. South Carolina, 1989

Citizen of the Year Award, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., Conway, South Carolina, 1989

Community Service Award, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., Conway, South Carolina, 1990

Citizen of the Year, Outstanding Achievement Award, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Conway, South Carolina, 1990

Outstanding Leadership and Dedicated Service Award, Kingston Lake Baptist Young People's Association, Horry County, South Carolina, 1990

Outstanding Leadership Award in the Conway Movement, the Orangeburg, South Carolina Branch of the NAACP, 1990

Kelly Alexander, Sr. Memorial Leadership Award. 5th Region of the Linked States. NAACP, 1990

Outstanding Leadership in the Quest of Equal Opportunity and Justice for Mankind, Kingston Lake Baptist Church Sunday School Convention, Horry County, South Carolina, 1990

Outstanding Contributions to Humanity, Kingston Lake Baptist Association, Horry County. South Carolina, 1990

Outstanding Spiritual Guidance and Dedicated Leadership as Pastor and Community Servant, Cherry Hill Baptist Church, Conway, South Carolina, 1990

Community Service Award for Dedicated, Courageous, and Sustained Support in the Conway Movement, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Conway, South Carolina, 1990

Modern Day Moses for the Cause of Young People, South Carolina Youth and College Division, NAACP, 1990

Faithful and Dedicated Service in the Civil Rights Movement, Sumter, South Carolina Branch of the NAACP, 1991

Freedom Award for the Defense of the First Amendment Rights of "Free Speech", Law Offices of Franklin R. DeWitt, Conway, South Carolina, 1991

Outstanding Leadership Award with Deep Appreciation and Admiration for Contributions to Horry County and the State of South Carolina, Concerned Citizens Operations Reach-out Organization, Loris, South Carolina, 1991

Outstanding Recognition of Efforts, Works, and Deeds toward Community Betterment, Harry County Council. Conway, South Carolina, 1991

Outstanding Commitment to Service to Others, Leadership in Many Activity Areas, Extended Years of Excellent Ministry and for Wise Counsel to Others in a Time of Need that Has Helped to Improve the Quality of Life in Horry County and in South Carolina, the South Carolina House of Representatives, Columbia, South Carolina, 1991

Outstanding Contribution to the Community, the State and the Nation, Robin Tallon, Congressman for the Sixth Congressional District of South Carolina, U. S. Congress, 1991

Outstanding Devoted and Dedicated Twenty-six Years of Service Rendered to Civil and Human Rights, Citizens of Edgefield County, South Carolina, 1991

Outstanding Work Exercising Freedom of Speech, Edgefield County, South Carolina Branch of the NAACP, 1991

HOBBIES

Helping others
Watching football
Reading local, state, and national newspapers daily
Serving as a role model for young people as they grow and mature in stature and wisdom
Teaching others

Source: Singleton's Personal Files

APPENDIX 18



Singleton and Rev. Al Sharpton at the 2004 NAACP Freedom Fund Banquet
Friendship Baptist Church
Conway, SC

APPENDIX 19



Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Singleton at the Celebration Honoring Singleton
"The Life and Times of Rev. H. H. Singleton"
Conway High School
November 10, 2001

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